THE HISTORY OF HENRY IV.

SURNAMED

The Great,

King of *France* and *Navarre*.

Written Originally in *French*,

By the Bishop of *Rodez*, once Tutor to his now most Christian Majesty;

And made English by *J. D.*

LONDON,

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To his Sacred Majesty,

CHARLES
THE SECOND,

King of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*.

Dread *SIR*,

WIth all the *humble* Reverence that *becomes* a *Low* but *Loyal Subject* and *Servant to his* Soveraign *Lord* and *Master*, cast I at Your *feet* this present *Address*. Those *Stars*

that move in the *Loweſt* Orb, receive their *light* and *luſtre* from the *Sun*, as well as *thoſe* that *wander* in a more *exalted* heaven; and therefore, may poſsibly be *capable* to return ſome *grateful* Influences, though not in ſo great a *quantity*, yet in a *quality* as *pure* and *candid*.

However, all my *courage* could not have *inſpired* me with a *preſumption* to *preſent* any thing of *mine* to ſo *glorious* a Majeſty, had it not born in its *Frontiſpiece* the name of HENRY THE GREAT,

GREAT, Your *Royal* and *Renowned* Grandfather; a *Prince* of so *Sublime* a Virtue, of so *Heroick* a Courage, of such *Activity* in War, and such *Prudence* in Peace, that he *justly* became both the *love* and *terror* of the age he lived in.

And, *Great Sir*, give me leave to tell you, that never did the *Life* of any *Prince* since the *Creation*, bear so equal a *Parellel* with *Your Majestie's*, as that of this *Renowned* King. If your *miseries* and *misfortunes* have *exceeded* his, God hath made

it by *evident* Demonſtrances *appear* that he *intends* to make your *Glories* and *Happineſs* as far *ſurpaſs* thoſe of your *Royal* Grand-Father. *You both* had *Leaguers* armed with *Rebellion*, *Obſtinacy* and *Ambition*, under a *Cloak* of *zeal* to *Religion*, to *oppoſe* you; and *you both*, aſsiſted by a *Miraculous* Providence of Heaven, *overcame* them. *You both* by Arms long *ſtrugled* for your Rights: but as if God had intended *you both* for *true Fathers* of your *Countries*, and the *Foundations* whereon he would ſettle

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an abſolute *happineſs* in your *Kingdoms*, ſo long *afflicted* with *Civil* Wars, and thoſe *terrours* which attend them; he brought *you both* to *ſpotleſs* Thrones, *unbeſmeared* with *blood*.

How ſoon was *France* redeemed from thoſe *plagues* it ſo long had *endured*, at the *entrance* of the *Great Henry* into the *Chair* of *Royalty*, who as a *Riſing* Sun, *darted* forth thoſe *Salutiferous* rays which *ſhone* upon, and *enriched* the *remoteſt* parts of his Territories! How ſoon were all *Factions* diſsipated!

and how soon did he by his *Prudent* Conduct *reconcile* the most *obstinate* Spirits! In fine, in how short time was *France*, from a Den of *Atheists*, *Thieves*, and *Robbers*, become the Nursery of *Piety*, *Arts* and *Industry*!

England (Dread Sovereign) *suffered* under the same *Fate* her neighbouring *Sister* had long since been *Subject* to, when *Heaven* was *graciously* pleased to *restore* you to your *Crown*: And you have *already* made us not only *hope*, but *see*, that you have *designed* to

restore

reſtore to us ſuch *happineſſes*, that we cannot juſtly *envy* thoſe which *France* enjoyed under her *beloved* HENRY. How well have you *ſetled* both our *Church* and *State*? How well have you *reconciled* our *Diſſentions*? with how much *too* great a *mercy* (give me Sir leave to *fear* ſo) have you *pardoned* the moſt *obſtinate* of your enemies? and how may we *hope* (if the *malice* of thoſe *obſtinate* Spirits yet *diſturb* not our *Tranquillity*) to enjoy under your Government the moſt *happy* and *flouriſhing* daies that

that ever *Great Britain* beheld!

But, *Sir*, that I may conclude, and not ſeem tedious to your Majeſty; may the *God of Heaven* inſpire into the *hearts* of your *people* a true *ſence* of your *goodneſs* and *paternal* love to them; may he *correct* the *improbous* malice of thoſe who yet dare to be your *enemies*; may he *incline* you ſtill to *proſecute* ſuch *Maxims* of *good* Government, both in *Church* and *State*, as may make both equally *Flouriſh*; may he *Augment* your *Glories*, and raiſe

raiſe them *above* thoſe of your *Grand-Father*, HENRY the Fourth; may he *bleſs* us *all*, by giving you a *long* and *happy* Reign; and when that *miſery* (though late) *arrives* us of loſing you, may we yet be made *bleſſed* in that *ſucceſsion* from your *Loyns* that may *endure for ever*. Thus Prays,

SIR,

The humbleſt *and* faithfulleſt, *though the* meaneſt *of your Majeſties Subjects and Servants*,

J. D.

The Tranſlator *to the* Reader.

BEhold here a Hiſtory compiled by one of the moſt able, and (let me teſtifie thus much) one of the moſt moderate and impartial Pens of *Europe*. It was fitted for the hand of a King; and is the Life of one whom his own Actions will declare to have better deſerved the name of *Great*, than that proud *Macedonian*, who wept that he had no more Worlds to conquer. For though he gained not ſuch ſignal Victories, nor over-ran ſo many Countries; yet he was poſſeſſed of more Virtues, than the other of Cities; and Vertue is the faireſt Mother of true Greatneſs. But, *Reader*, I foreſtal thy delight in its Reading: go on, therefore; but with Deliberation.

J. D.

The

THE AUTHOR TO THE READER.

READER,

THis *History of* Henry *the Great, is only a ſmall part of the Summary or Epitomy of the general History of* France, *which I have compoſed by the command of the King, and for the inſtruction of his Majeſty. It having been my intention only to gather together all that might ſerve to form*

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a great Prince, and render him capable of Reigning well; I have not thought it convenient to enter into a particular Recital of things, or to recount at length all Wars and Affairs, as Hiſtorians do, who are to write for all ſorts of perſons. I have only took the Sum, and recounted thoſe Circumſtances I have judged the faireſt, and the moſt inſtructive; leaving apart all the reſt, to ſhorten matter, and to give in epitomy an account of all that paſſed, which might inform the ſpirit of the King, without ſurcharging his memory. This hath been my deſign: if it hath not ſucceeded ſo well as could be wiſh'd, I hope, READER, *that my Endeavour will appear praiſe-worthy. I doubt not but there are in this Work ſome Miſtakes which I may not have perceived, but which cannot eſcape Eyes more*

clear-

clear-ſighted. The Hiſtory is accompanied with ſo many Circumſtances, that it is almoſt impoſſible not to be deceived in ſome: Yet I believe I have written nothing for which I have not my Warrant. And if you find in any Author the contrary of what I have ſaid, I intreat you to conſider that our Hiſtorians do in many things ſo differ among themſelves, that who takes the judgment of one, muſt neceſſarily contradict the other. In this diverſity I have followed thoſe whom I believed the beſt and moſt aſſured. I acknowledge likewiſe that I could not refrain borrowing from them whole Paragraphs where they have pleaſed me, and that I have thought I could better explain my ſelf by their Expreſſions, than my own. However, if this be a fault, it is but a light one, and ought to be par-

pardoned, ſince ingenuouſly confeſt. For other more remarkable ones I may have committed, I preſume on your goodneſs, that, Reader, *you will not treat me with the utmoſt rigour; but that you will have as much indulgence for me, as I have in this Work had Zeal for the Service of my King, and Affection for the good of* France.

The

THE HISTORY OF HENRY the Great, King of *France* and *Navarre*.

To the King.

SIR,

THat Respect and Love which all good French-men have still conserved for the happy Memory of King *Henry* the Great your Grandfather, represents it self as fresh to their remembrance, as if he still reigned; and

Renown conserves the Splendour of his fair Actions in the Hearts and Mouths of Men, as lively and entirely as in the time of his Triumphs. But we may say moreover, when we consider your Majesty, That he hath regained a new Life in your Person, and that he makes himself daily be seen under a Visage yet more August, and by Vertues which appear as redoubtable to the Enemies of *France*, as they are sweet and charming to its People.

In truth, Sir, that praise-worthy Impatience which your Majesty hath testified (when I presented our History to your reading) to come to this glorious Reign, and for it to leave behind seven or eight others of Kings that preceded him, is a most certain proof that you desire him for your Model, and that you have resolved to study his Conduct, and conserve it in the Government of your Estates. Your happy Birth, and your Inclinations wholly Royal, lead you to it: The Hopes and Votes of your Subjects agree to it: The Necessities of your Kingdom, afflicted with the Miseries of the longest War it ever sustained, oblige you to it; and Heaven hath disposed you to it by so many Graces and eminent Qualities, that it would be difficult for you not to follow the fair Examples of this great Monarch. I dare likewise say (and I may speak it with truth) that it will not be impossible for you to surpass him, if you enforce your self to improve well all those Advantages wherewith Heaven hath endowed you above other Princes of your Age.

Yes,

Yes, Sir, he hath to you, as well as to the King your Grandfather, given a generous Soul, good and beneficent; a Spirit elevated, and capable of the greateſt things; a Memory happy and facile; a Courage Heroick and Martial; a Judgment neat and ſolid; a ſtrong and vigorous Health: but he hath moreover given you one Advantage this great Prince never had; that is, A Majeſtick Preſence; an Air and Port almoſt Divine; a Perſon and Beauty worthy the Empire of the Univerſe, which attracts the Eyes and Reſpects of all the World, and which without the force of Arms, without the authority of Commands, will gain you all thoſe by whom your Majeſty ſhall make your Self be ſeen.

I will not ſpeak of the Proſperities of your Eſtates ſince your happy Advancement to the Crown; how you have been proclaimed Conquerour as ſoon as King; how by the aſſiſting Counſels of your great Miniſters, your Frontiers have been extended on all ſides, and your Enemies every where defeated: but I ought not to forget that ſingular Grace which Heaven hath conferred on you, by inſtructing you in the Catholick Religion, and in true Piety, by the continual Diligences and Examples of the Queen your Mother; that which was without doubt wanting to the Youth of our *Henry*.

You cannot, Sir, with ſo fair Diſpoſitions, with ſo many ſuper-excelling Favours of Heaven, be confined beneath the Glory and Repu-

putation of this great Prince. Remember, if you please, that you have done me the honour to tell me more then once, that you ardently aspire to a like Perfection, and that you have no greater Ambition. All *France*, who at present have their Eyes upon you, rejoyce to see the Effects already second your Desires, and that you strive as puissantly to imitate, as you have passionately desired to hear the Recital of so fair a Life.

"Your Majesty knows that Wills pass but "for Weaknesses, when they render not them- "selves efficacious; and are so far from being "worthy praise, that they condemn those who "have them so much the more, because they "see well what they ought to do, and have not "the heart to attempt or enterprize it. The "way of Vertue at first glance seems rude, but "it conducts to the Temple of Glory; where "it is certain we arrive not by simple thoughts, "and idle discourses, but by labour, applica- "tion, and perseverance.

I have often taken the liberty to represent to your Majesty, That Royalty is no Infant-Mystery; That it consists almost altogether in Action; That a King ought to make his Duty his Delights; and, That he ought to know how to Reign; that is, how to hold himself the Helm of his Estate, the better to Conduct them with Vigour, Wisdom, and Justice.

"Who knows not that there is no Honour "in bearing a Title, without executing the "Functions of it? That it is in vain to have

"acquisted

"acquiſted the beſt Knowledge, without la-
"bouring to reduce it into practice? That
"it is ridiculous to propoſe to our ſelves a
"great Model, unleſs it be effectually imita-
"ted? And in fine, that it is nothing to un-
"derſtand by heart all the Maximes of Poli-
"cy, if we apply them not to their right Uſe?
"Without lying, he that hath Eyes, and will
"not open them; who hath Arms, and will
"not take the pains to move them, is in a
"worſe eſtate then the Blind or the Crip-
"ple.

I cannot diſſemble, Sir, that unſpeakable Joy I have ſometimes conceived, when I have underſtood from the Mouth of your Majeſty, *that you would chuſe rather never to have wore a Crown, then not your Self to govern it*, but reſemble thoſe Infant-Kings of the firſt Race, who, as all our Hiſtorians ſay, ſerved only as Idols to the Majors of their Palace; and who had had no Name, but only to mark the year in the Chronology.

But it will be enough to make *France* know how much your Majeſty condemns that ſleepy Lethargy, to tell them that you are at preſent reſolved to imitate your Grandfather *Henry* the Great, who hath been the moſt active and moſt labourious of all our Kings; who hath dedicated himſelf with moſt diligence to the Management of his Affairs, and who hath cheriſhed his Eſtates and People with moſt affection and moſt tenderneſs. This is to declare that your Majeſty hath taken a firm Reſolu-

tion to put your hand to the Work; to know both the inside and outside of your Realm; to preside in your Counsels; to give feet and motion to all Resolutions; to have a continual Eye over your Revenues; to cause a true, faithful and exact Account to be given; to distribute Graces and Recompences to those of your Creatures shall prove worthy: in fine, fully and amply to enjoy your Authority. It is thus the incomparable *Henry* acted, whom we are about to see reign, not only in *France* by right of Blood, but over all *Europe* by the esteem of his Vertue.

In effect, since the first foundation of the *French* Monarchy, the History furnisheth us not with any Reign more memorable, by reason of the great Events, more repleat with the wonders of Divine Assistance, more glorious for the Prince, and more happy for the People, then his: and it is without flattery or envy, that all the Universe hath given him the firname of *Great*; not so much for the greatness of his Victories, however comparable to those of *Alexander* or *Pompey*, as for the greatness of his Soul and of his Courage: for he never bowed either under the Insults of Fortune, or under the Traverses of his Enemies, or under the Resentments of Revenge, or under the Artifices of Favourites or Ministers: he remained always in the same temper, always Master of himself. In a word, he remained always King and Soveraign, without acknowledging other Superior then God, Justice, and Reason.

Let

Let us then proceed to write the History of his Life; which we shall divide into three principal Parts. The Life of Hen. the Great, divided into 3 parts.

The first shall contain what happened from his Birth till his coming to the Crown of *France*. The first

The second shall speak what he did after he came to it, until the Peace of *Vervin*. The second.

And the third shall recount his Actions after the Peace of *Vervin*, until the unhappy day of his death. The third.

But before all, it is necessary we speak something briefly of his Genealogy.

He was Son to *Anthony de Bourbon*, Duke of *Vendosme*, and King of *Navarre*, and of *Jane* of *Albret*, Heiress of that Kingdom. His Genealogy.

Anthony descended in a direct and Masculine Line from *Robert* Count of *Clermont*, fifth Son to King St. *Lewis*. Who *Anthony de Bourbon* his Father was.

This *Robert* espoused *Beatrix*, Daughter and Heiress to *John* of *Burgoyne*, Baron of *Bourbon*, by his Wife *Agnes*; for which cause *Robert* took the Name of *Bourbon*, but not the Arms, still keeping those of *France*.

This sage Precaution served well to his Descendants, to maintain themselves in the Degree of Princes of the Blood, which those

Peter, ſixth Son to Lewis le Groſs, eſpouſed Iſabella Heireſs of Courtnay, and took both Name and Arms: a fault very prejudicial to his poſterity.

of *Courtney* (a) loſt, for not having acted in the ſame manner. And beſides the Vertue which gave a ſplendour to their Actions, the good management and œconomy which they exerciſed to conſerve and augment their Revenues, the great Alliances in which they were very diligent to match themſelves, ever refuſing to mingle their Noble among Vulgar Blood; and above all, their rare Piety towards God, and that ſingular goodneſs wherewith they acted towards their Inferiors, conſerved them, and elevated them above Princes of elder Branches: for the People ſeeing them always rich, puiſſant, wiſe, and in a word, worthy to command, had imprinted in their ſpirits as it were a prophetick perſwaſion that this Houſe would one day come to the Crown; and they on their ſide ſeemed to have conceived this hope, though it were at great diſtance, having taken for their Word or Device, *Eſpoir*, or *Hope*.

The branch of Bourbon produced many; among others that of Vendoſme.

Among the younger Branches which iſſued from this Branch of *Bourbon* (b), the moſt conſiderable and moſt illuſtrious was that of *Vendoſme*. It carried this Nature, becauſe they poſſeſſed that great Country, which came to them in the year 1364. by the Marriage of *Katharine Vendoſme*, (Siſter and Heireſs to *Bouchard* laſt Count of *Vendoſme*) with *John* of *Bourbon* Count of the *Marches*. At preſent it was but a County, but was after made a Dutchy by King *Francis* the firſt, in the year 1514. in favour of *Charles*, who was great

Grand-

Grand-child to *John*, and Father of *Anthony*. This *Charles* had seven Male-Children; *Lewis*, *Anthony*, *Francis*, another *Lewis*, *Charles*, *John*, and a third *Lewis*: the first *Lewis* and the second died in their infancy; *Anthony* remained the eldest; *Francis*, who was Count of *Anguien*, and gained the Battel of *Cerisoles*, died without being married. *Charles* was a Cardinal of the Title of *Chrysogone*, and Archbishop of *Rouen*: this is he who was named the old Cardinal of *Bourbon*. *John* lost his life at the Battel of St. *Quintin*. The third *Lewis* was called the Prince of *Conde*, and by two Marriages had several Male-Children; from the first descended *Henry* Prince of *Conde*, *Francis* Prince of *Conty*, and *Charles*, who was Cardinal and Archbishop of *Rouen* after the Death of the old Cardinal of *Bourbon*.

Charles Duke of *Vendosme* had *Anthony*, and six other sons

There were eight Generations from Male in Male, from St. *Lewis* to *Anthony*, who was Duke of *Vendosme*, King of *Navarre*, and Father to our *Henry*.

As for *Jane d'Albret* his Wife, she was Daughter and Heiress to *Henry* of *Albret*, King of *Navarre*, and of *Margaret de Valois*, Sister to King *Francis* the first, and Widow to the Duke of *Alenson*. *Henry d'Albret* was Son to *John d'Albret*, who became King of *Navarre* by his Wife *Katherine du Foix*, Sister to King *Phœbus* deceased without Children; for that Realm had entred into the House of *Foix* by Marriage, as it entred afterwards into

Who *Jane d'Albret* his Mother was.

to that of *Albret*, and ſince into that of *Bourbon*.

Ferdinand King of *Arragon*, had invaded and taken the Higher *Navarre*, that is, that part which is beyond the *Pyrenean* Hills, and the moſt conſiderable of that Realm, from King *John d'Albret*; ſo that by conſequence there reſted to him only the Lower, that is, that beneath the Mountains towards *France*: but with it he had the Countries of *Bearn*, of *Albret*, of *Foix*, of *Armagnac*, of *Bigorra*, and many other great Signories coming as well by the Houſe of *Foix*, as that of *Albret*.

Henry his Son had only one Daughter, *Jane* who was called the Minion of Kings: for King *Henry* her Father, and the great King *Francis* the firſt her Uncle, with envy to each other, ſtrove moſt to cheriſh her.

The Emperour *Charles* the fifth had caſt his Eyes on her, and cauſed her to be demanded of her Father for his Son *Philip* the ſecond; propoſing this as a means to pacifie their Differences touching the Kingdom of *Navarre*: but King *Francis* the firſt, not thinking it fit to introduce ſo puiſſant an Enemy into *France*, cauſing her to come to *Chaſtellerault*, affianced her to the Duke of *Cleves*; and after releaſing her of that Contract, married her to *Anthony* of *Bourbon*, Duke of *Vendoſme*: and the Marriage was ſolemnized at *Moulins*, in the year 1547. the ſame year that *Francis* the firſt died.

Anth. of Bourbon, Duke of Vendoſme, and Jane d'Albret, married at Moulins, 1547.

The

The two young Spouſes had in their firſt three or four years, two Sons; both which died at *Bercean* by accidents very extraordinary: the firſt, becauſe its Governeſs being her ſelf cold of nature, kept it ſo hot, that ſhe ſtifled it with heat; and the ſecond, by the careleſneſs of the Nurſe, who playing with a Gentleman, as they danced the Child from one to another, let it fall to the ground, ſo that it died in torment. Thus Heaven deprived them of theſe two little Princes, to make way for our *Henry*; who merited well both the Birth-right, and to be an only Son.

Let us now come to the Hiſtory of his Life.

THE

THE FIRST PART OF THE LIFE OF HENRY the Great:

Containing his History from his Birth until he came to the Crown of *FRANCE.*

1552. *Henry* the Great conceived at *la Fleche*

IT hath not been precisely known in what place *Henry* the Great was conceived. The common opinion holds, that it was at *la Fleche* in *Anjou*; there where *Anthony* of *Bourbon* his Father, and the Princess of *Navarre* his Mother, sojourned from the end of *February*, *anno* 1552. 1553. until the middle of *May*, in the year 1553. But it is certain, that she first perceived her conception, and felt it move, at the Camp in *Picardy*, where she was with her Husband, who was Governour of that Province, and who was gone from *la Fleche* to command an Army against *Charles* the fifth. It was most just, that he

he who was destined to be an extraordinary Prince, should begin the first motions of his life in a Camp, at the noise of Trumpets and Cannon, as a true Child of *Mars*. Part I.

His Grandfather *Henry d'Albret*, who yet lived, having understood that his Daughter was with Child, recalled her home to him, desiring himself to take care for the conservation of this new fruit, which, by a secret presentiment, he was wont to say ought to revenge him of those injuries the Spaniards had done him.

This couragious Princess taking then leave of her Husband, parted from *Compeigne* the fifteenth of *November*; traversed all *France* to the *Pyrænean* Mountains, and arrived at *Pau* in *Bearn*, where the King her Father was, the fourth day of *December*, not having stay'd above eighteen or nineteen days on her journey: and the thirtieth of the same month, she was happily brought to bed of a Son.

Before this, King *Henry d'Albret* had made his Will; which the Princess his Daughter had a great desire to see, because it was reported that it was made to her disadvantage, in favour of a Lady that good man had loved. She durst not speak to him of it; but he being advertised of her desire, he promised to shew it her, and put it in her hands, when she should shew him what she carried in her womb; but on condition, that at her delivery she should sing a Song; *to the end* (said he) *that thou bringest not into the world a weak and*

weep-

Part I.

weeping Infant. The Princess promised him; and had so much courage, that maugre the great pains she suffered, she kept her word, and sung one in the *Beornois* language, so soon as she understood he was entred into the Chamber. It was observed that the Infant, contrary to the common order of Nature, came into the World without weeping or crying. Nor was it fit, that a Prince who ought to be the joy of all *France*, should be born among tears and groans.

His Mother sings at her delivery of him.

He crys not at his birth.

So soon as he was born, his Grandfather carried him in the skirt of his Robe into his own Chamber; giving his Will, which was in a Box of gold, to his Daughter; telling her, *My Daughter, see there what is for you; but this is for me.* Whilst he held the Infant, he rubbed his little lips with a clove of Garlick, and made him suck a draught of Wine out of a golden Cup; that he might render his temperament more masculine and vigorous.

So soon as born, his Grandfather carries him into his chamber: he rubs his lips with Garlick, and makes him taste wine

The Spaniards had formerly said in Raillery concerning the Birth of the Mother of our *Henry*, *O wonder! the Cow hath brought forth an Ewe:* meaning by that word *Cow*, Queen *Margaret* her Mother, whom they called so; and her Husband, *Cow-keeper*, alluding to the Arms of *Bearn*, which are two Cows. And King *Henry* resting assured of the future greatness of his little Grandchild, taking him often in his arms, kissing him, and remembring the foolish Raillery of the Spaniards, spoke with joy to all those who came to visit him, and

The Spaniards Raillery concerning the birth of his Mother.

and congratulate this happy birth: *See* (said he) *how my Ewe hath now brought forth a Lion!*

Part I. Her Father's Reply to it. 1554.

He was baptized the year following, on *Twelfth-day*, being the sixth of *January*, 1554. For this Baptism, were expressly made Fonts of silver richly gilded; in which he was baptized, in the Chappel of the Castle of *Pau*. His Godfathers were *Henry* the second King of *France*, and *Henry d'Albret* King of *Navarre*; who gave him their Names: and the Godmother was Madam *Claudia* of *France*, after Dutchess of *Lorain*. *Jaques de Foix* then Bishop of *Lescar*, and after Cardinal, held him over the Font, in the name of the Most Christian King; and Madam *d'Andovis* in the name of Madam *Claudia* of *France*. He was baptized by the Cardinal of *Armagnac* Bishop of *Rhodez*, and Vice Legat of *Avignon*.

Baptism of Hen. 4.

His Godfathers and Godmothers.

He was however difficult to be brought up, having seven or eight Nurses, of which the last had all the honour. At his being weaned, the King gave him for Governess *Susan de Bourbon* Wife of *John d'Albret* Baron of *Miossens*, who elevated him in the Castle of *Coarasse* in *Bearn*, situate amongst the Rocks and Mountains.

He was hard to bring up.

He had for Governess Madam *de Miossens*.

His Grandfather would not permit him to be nourished with that delicateness ordinarily used to Persons of his quality; knowing well, that there seldom lodged other then a mean and feeble soul in a soft and tender body. He like-

His grandfather permits him not so be nourished delicately

Part I. likewise denied him rich habiliments, and Childrens usual bables; "or that he should be "flattered or treated like a Prince; because all "those things were only the causers of vanity, "and rather raised pride in the hearts of In-"fants, then any sentiments of generosity: but he commanded that he should be habited and nourished * like the other Infants of the Country, and likewise that they should accustom him to run and mount up the Rocks; that by such means he might use himself to labour, and, if we may speak so, give a temperature to that young body, to render it the more strong and vigorous: which was without doubt most necessary for a Prince who was to suffer so much to reconquer his Estate.

* It hath been said that he was ordinarily nourished with coarse bread, beef cheese, and garlick; and that oftentimes he was made to march with naked feet, and bare headed.

The death of Henry d'Albret, 1555.

King *Henry d'Albret* died at *Hagetman* in *Bearn*, on the five and twentieth of *May*, 1555. being aged about fifty three years, or thereabouts. He ordained by his Will, that his body should be carried to *Pampelona*, to be interred with his Predecessors, and that in the mean time it should be laid in State in the Cathedral of *Lescar* in *Bearn*. This Prince was courageous, of a great spirit, sweet and courteous to all the World, and so nobly liberal, that *Charles* the fifth once passing thorow *Navarre*, was in such manner received, that he protested he had never seen a more magnificent Prince.

His daughter & Son-in-law succeed him.

After his death, *Jane* his Daughter, and *Anthony* Duke of *Vendosme* his Son-in-law, succeeded him. They were at present at the Court

Court of *France*; and with much difficulty obtained their leave to retire to *Bearn*; for King *Henry* the ſecond, preſſed to it by ill Counſel, would have deprived them of the Lower *Navarre*, which yet remained to them; pretending, that all that was below the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, belonged to the Realm of *France*. They knew how juſtly to oppoſe againſt him the Eſtates of the Country; and the King durſt not too much purſue this ſubject, for fear leſt deſpair ſhould force them to call the *Spaniards* to their aſſiſtance: but he ſtill remained troubleſom to them; and giving to *Anthony* the Government of *Guyenne*, which had been likewiſe held by *Henry d'Albret* his Father-in-law, he retrenched him of *Languedoc*, which he had a long time enjoyed. Part 2. and retires from the Court.

About two years after, they returned to the Court of *France*, whither they brought their Son, aged about four or five years; who was the moſt jolly and beſt-compoſed Lad in the World: but they ſtayed but few months, and returned again to *Bearn*. 1557. 1558.

A little after, King *Henry* the ſecond was ſlain with a blow of a Lance by *Montgommery*. *Francis* the ſecond, his eldeſt Son, ſucceeded him; and *Meſſieurs de Guiſe*, Uncles to *Mary Stuart* his Queen, ſeized themſelves of the Government. The Princes of the Blood could not ſuffer it; and therefore *Lewis*, Prince of *Conde*, younger Brother to *Anthony*, called that King into the Court to oppoſe it. 1559. Death of King *Henry* the ſecond. *Francis* 2. ſucceeds.

Part I. Divisions at Court. 1560.

During these Divisions, the *Hugonots* contrived the Conspiration *d'Amboyse* against the present Government: and the two Brothers, *Anthony* and *Lewis*, being accused for the Chiefs of it, were arrested Prisoners in the State of *Orleans*; and processes made so hotly against the second, that it was believed he would have been beheaded, if the Death of King *Francis* the second had not happened.

Death of *Francis* II.

Charles 9. succeeds. Queen *Katherine* declared Regent, & the King of *Navarre* Lieutenant. General of the Realm.

Charles the ninth who succeeded him, being under Age, Queen *Katherine* his Mother caused her self to be declared Regent of the Estates; and the King of *Navarre*, first Prince of the Blood, was declared Lieutenant-General of the Realm, to govern the Estate with her: so that by this means he was stayed in *France*, whither he caused his Queen *Jane*, and his young Son Prince *Henry*, to come. But he enjoyed not long this new Dignity; for the Troubles daily continuing, by reason of the Surprises which the new Reformers made of the best Cities of the Kingdom, after having re-taken *Bourges* from them, he came to besiege *Rouen*; where visiting one day the Trenches, as he was making water, he received a Musket-shot in his left shoulder; of which he in few days died at *Andely* on the *Siene*. Had he lived longer, the *Hugonots* had without doubt been but ill treated in *France*; for he mortally hated them, though his Brother, the Prince of *Conde*, were the principal Chief of their Party.

1562.

He is killed before *Rouen*.

The

The Queen his Wife, and the little Prince his Son, were at preſent in the Court of *France*. The Mother returned to *Bearn*, where ſhe publickly embraced Calviniſm: but ſhe left her Son with the King, under the Conduct of a wiſe Tutor, named *la Gaucherie*, who endeavoured to give him ſome tincture of Learning, not by the Rules of Grammar, but by Diſcourſes and Entertainments. To this effect he taught him by heart many fair Sentences like to theſe: Part I. The Queen his Wife returns to *Bearn*, and embraces Calviniſm.

Ou vaincre avec Juſtice,
Ou mourir avec Gloire.

Or juſtly gain the Victory,
Or learn with Glory how to die.

And that other;

Les Princes ſur leur Peuple ont autorité grande,
Mais Dieu plus fortement deſſus les Rois commande.

Kings rule their Subjects with a mighty hand,
But God with greater power doth Kings command.

In the year 1566. his Mother took him from the Court of *France*, and led him to *Pau*; and in the place of *la Gaucherie*, who was 1566. She takes her Son.

Part I. from the Court, and gives him a Master inſtructs him in ill Doctrine.

was deceaſed, ſhe gave him *Florentius Chriſtian*, an ancient Servant of the Houſe of *Vendoſme*; a man of a very agreeable converſation, and well verſed in Learning; but however a *Hugonot*, and who, according to the orders of the Queen, inſtructed the Prince in that falſe Doctrine.

In the firſt troubles of the Religion, *Francis* Duke of *Guiſe* had been aſſaſſinated by *Poltrot* at the Siege of *Orleans*, leaving his Children in Minority: this was in the year 1563. In the ſecond, the Conſtable of *Montmorency* received a wound at the Battle of St. *Denis*; of which he died at *Paris*, three days after the Eve of St. *Martin*, in the year 1567. In the third, and in the year 1569, Queen *Jane* rendred her ſelf Protectoreſs of the *Hugonot* Party; being for this effect come to *Rochel* with her Son, whom ſhe now devoted to the Defence of that new Religion.

1567. *Henry* Prince of *Navarre*, declared chief of the Religion.

1569. *Lewis* Prince of *Conde* his Uncle, his Lieutenant, with Admiral *Coligny*.

In this quality he was declared Chief, and his Uncle the Prince of *Conde* his Lieutenant in colleague with the Admiral of *Coligny*. Theſe were two great Chieftains, but they committed notable errours; and this young Prince, though not exceeding thirteen years of age, had the ſpirit to obſerve them. For he judged well at the great Skirmiſh of *Loudun*, that if the Duke of *Anjou* (b) had had Troops ready to aſſault them, he had done it; and that not doing it, he was without doubt in an ill eſtate, and therefore ſhould the rather have been aſſaulted by them: but they, by not doing

A judicious action when yet an Infant.

(b) This Duke of Anjou, was King after Hen. 3

doing it, gave time to all his Troops to arrive. Part I.

At the Battle of *Jarnac*, he represented to them yet more judiciously, that there was no means to fight, because the Forces of the Princes were dispersed, and those of the Duke of *Anjou* firmly imbodied: but they were engaged too far to be able to retreat. The Prince of *Conde* was killed in this Battel, or rather assassinated in cold blood after the Combat, in which he had had his Leg broken.

Another action very judicious at the Battel of *Jarnac*.

Lewis Prince of *Conde* slain

After that, all the authority and belief of the Party remained in the Admiral *Coligny*, who, to speak truth, was the greatest man of that time of the Religion he took part with, but the most unfortunate.

After his death, the Admiral commands all.

This Admiral having gathered together new Forces, hazarded a second Battel at *Montcontour* in *Poictou*: he had caused to come to the Army our little Prince of *Navarre*, and the young Prince of *Conde*, who was likewise named *Henry*, and gave them in charge to Prince *Lodowick* of *Nassaw*, who guarded them on a Hill little distant with four thousand Horse.

He hazards the Battel of *Montcontour*.

The young Prince burned with desire to engage in person, but they permitted him not to run so great a hazard: nevertheless when the Avant-Guard of the Duke of *Alençon* was disordered by that of the Admiral, there had been no danger to let him fall upon the Enemies, who were much astonished. However they hindred him, and he now cryed out,

Our Prince impatient to engage, but hindred.

Part I. Gives marks of his Judgment. 1570.

We ſhall loſe our advantage, and by conſequence the Battel. It arrived as he had foreſeen; and it was at that hour judged by ſome, that a young man of ſixteen years of age, had more underſtanding then the old Souldiers. "Thus "he applied himſelf entirely to what he did; "nor had he only a Body, but a Spirit and "Judgment apt.

Being ſaved with the remnants of his Army, he made almoſt a turn round the Kingdom, fighting in Retreat, and rallying together the *Hugonots* Troops here and there for five or ſix months; during which, he ſuffered ſo much travel that had he not been elevated in that manner he was, he could not have been able to reſiſt it.

This young Prince always accompanied with the Admiral, led his Troops into *Guyenne*, and from thence through *Languedoc*, where he took *Niſmes* by Stratagem, forced ſeveral ſmall places, and burned the Suburbs of *Tonlouſe* in ſuch manner, that the ſparkles of that fire flew into that great City. The War being thus kindled in the heart of *France*, he ſhewed himſelf on the other Bank of the *Rhone* with his Troops, gained by ſtorms the City of St. *Julien* and St. *Juſt*, and obliged St. *Eſtienne en Forez* to capitulate. From thence he deſcended to the Banks of the *Saone*, and afterwards into the middle of *Burgongne*. *Paris* trembled the ſecond time at the approach of an Army ſo much the more formidable, becauſe it ſeemed to be re-inforced by the loſs of

He with the Admiral continues the War.

two

two Battels, and to have now gained ſome advantage over that of the Catholicks which the Mareſhal *de Coſſe* commanded. Part I.

The Counſel of the King fearing to hazard all by a fourth Encounter, judged it more to the purpoſe to plaiſter up a Peace with that Party: it was therefore treated of, the two Armies being near each other, and concluded in the little City of *Arnay-le-Duc*, on the eleventh of *Auguſt*. The peace of *Arnay-le-Duc*.

This Peace made every one retire home; the Prince of *Navarre* went to *Bearn*. King *Charles* the ninth married with *Elizabeth*, Daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian* the ſecond; and nothing elſe ſeemed thought of, but Feaſts and Rejoycings. In the mean time, the King having found that he could never compaſs his deſires on the *Hugonots* by force, reſolved to make uſe of means more eaſie, but much more wicked: he began to careſs them, to feign that he would treat them favourably, to accord them the greateſt part of thoſe things they deſired, and to lull them aſleep with hopes of his making War againſt the King of *Spain* in the Low-Countries; a thing they paſſionately deſired: and the better to allure them, he promiſed as a gage of his Faith, to marry his Siſter *Margaret* to our *Henry*; and by theſe means drew the principal Chiefs of their Party to *Paris*. 1571. A Reſolution to entrap the *Hugonots*, and exterminate them.

His Mother *Jane*, who was come before to make preparations for the Marriage, died a few days after her arrival: a Princeſs of a Spi- Death of *Jane d'Albret*.

Part I. rit and Courage above her Sex, and whose Soul wholly virile, was not subject to the weaknesses and defaults of other Women, but in truth, a passionate Enemy of the Catholick Religion. Some Historians say, that she was poysoned with a pair of perfumed Gloves, because they feared that she having a great spirit, would discover the design they had to massacre all the *Hugonots*: but if I be not deceived, this is a falsity; it being more likely which others say, that she died of a Tissick, since those that were about her, and served her, have so testified.

Her Son takes the quality of King of *Navarre*. He marries the King of *France* his Sister.

Henry her Son, who came after her, being in *Poicton*, received news of her death, and presently took the Quality of King: for hitherto he had only born that of Prince of *Navarre*. So soon as he came to *Paris*, the unhappy Nuptials were celebrated; the two parties being espoused by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, on a Scaffold erected for that purpose before the Church of *Nostre-Dame*.

Massacre of St. *Bartholomew*.

Six days after, which was the day of St. *Bartholomew*, all the *Hugonots* which were come to the Solemnity, had their throats cut, amongst others, the Admiral, and twenty other Lords of remark, twelve hundred Gentlemen, three or four thousand Souldiers and Burgesses; and through all the Cities of the Kingdom, after the Example of *Paris*, near an hundred thousand men. "Execrable action! which never "had, nor ever shall again, if it please God, "find its parallel.

What

What grief must it needs be to our young King, to see instead of Wine and Perfumes, so much blood shed at his Nuptials, his best friends murthered; and hear their pitiful crys, which pierced his ears into the *Louvre* where he was lodged? And moreover, what trances and fears must needs surprize his very Person? For in effect, it was consulted whether they should murther him and the Prince of *Conde* with the rest; and all the Murderers concluded on their death: nevertheless, by a miracle, they after resolved to spare them. Part I. The grief and fear of our young King.

Charles IX. caused them to be brought to his presence; and having shewed them a mountain of dead bodies, with horrible threats, not hearkning to their reasons, told them, *Either Death or the Mass.* They elected rather the last then the first, and abjured Calvinism: but because it was known they did it not heartily, they were so straitly observed, that they could not escape the Court during those two years that *Charles* IX. lived, nor a long time after his death. He is constrained to turn Catholick.

During this time, our *Henry* exquisitely dissembled his discontents, though they were very great; and notwithstanding those vexations which might trouble his spirit, he cloathed his visage with a perpetual serenity, and humour wholly jolly. This was without doubt the most difficult passage of his Life: he had to do with a furious King, and with his two Brothers, to wit, the Duke of *Anjou*, a dissembling Prince, and who had been educated 1572. His great dangers and troubles at Court.

Part I. cated in Massacres; and with the Duke of *Alenson*, who was deceitful and malicious; with Queen *Katherine*, who mortally hated him, because her Divines had foretold his Reign: and in fine, with the House of *Guise*, whose Puissance and Credit was at present almost boundless.

His Wise & prudent conduct.

He was doubtless necessitated to act with a marvellous prudence in the conduct of himself with all these people, that he might not create in them the least jealousie, but rather beget a great esteem of himself; make submission and gravity accord, and conserve his Dignity and Life: in the mean time he dis-engaged himself from all these difficulties, and from all these dangers, with an unparallell'd address.

He contracts friendship with the Duke of *Guise*.

He contracted a great familiarity with the Duke of *Guise*, who was about his own age; and they often made secret parties of pleasure together: but he agreed not so well with the Duke of *Alenson*, who had a capricious spirit; nor was he over-much troubled at his ill accord with him, because neither the King nor Queen-mother had any affection for this Duke.

He shuns contention with the Duke *Alenson*;

However; he gave no credit to the ill counsel of that Queens Emissaries, who endeavoured to engage his contending in Duel against him; so much the rather, because that he considering him as the Brother of his King, to whom he ought respect, he knew well it would have proved his loss, and that she would not have been wanting to take so fair a pretext to ruine him.

He

He ſhunned likewiſe other ſnares laid for him, but yet not all: for he ſuffered himſelf to be overtaken with the allurements of ſome Ladies of the Court; whom it is ſaid that Queen ſerved her ſelf expreſsly of, to amuſe the Princes and Nobles, and to diſcover all their thoughts. Part I. but let himſelf be overcome by the beauty of Ladies:

From that time, ("for Vices contracted in "the bloſſom of Youth, generally accompany "men to their Tomb) a paſſion for Women was the greateſt feebleneſs and weakneſs of our *Henry*; and poſſibly the cauſe of his laſt misfortune: for God puniſheth ſooner or later thoſe who wickedly abandon themſelves to this criminal paſſion. which was his greateſt weakneſs.

Beſides this, he contracted no other crimes in this Court; and it ought to be attributed to a particular grace of Heaven, that he was not infected with all; for there was never any more vicious nor more corrupted. Impiety, Atheiſm, Witchcraft, all moſt horribly wickedneſs, black ingratitude and perfidiouſneſs, poyſoning and aſſaſſination, reigning there in a ſoveraign degree: yet all theſe abominations, inſtead of infecting him, fortified him in the natural horror he had againſt them; and, though amongſt wicked perſons, he had never any thoughts to become their Companion, but many to be their Enemy. 1572. He fell not into any other of the horrible vices of the Court.

On St. *Bartholomew*-day ſucceeding, they would finiſh to exterminate the *Hugonots*; and to this purpoſe the Duke of *Anjou* went to beſiege *Rochel*, carrying him with him, but cauſed 1573. The Duke of *Anjou* beſieges *Rochel*, &c

Part I. carries the King with him.

The Siege raised, by the election of the Duke of *Anjou* to the Kingdom of *Poland*.

1574. *Charles* 9. falls mortally sick at *Bois de Vincennes*.

A League made at Court, into which *Henry* enters.

The Queen-mother discovering it, causes him and the Duke *Alenson*, &c. to be arrested;

caused him to be so well observed, that he could neither evade to the right hand nor the left. It may be judged what heart-grief it was to him to be made an instrument in the destruction of those which yet remained his friends and servants, and had refuged themselves in this City. After a long Siege, it was relieved by the arrival of the Ambassadors of *Poland*, who came to seek the Duke of *Anjou*, whom the Estates of that Country had elected their King.

Some months afterwards, *Charles* IX. fell mortally sick, vomiting forth blood through all the conduits of his body; so that by many it was believed he was poysoned: but however it were, it may justly be said, (if it be permitted to judge of Kings, *who ought to be judged by none but God*) That it was a Divine punishment for his blasphemies.

His extream malady gave birth to a League made by the Duke of *Alenson*, the Mareshals of *Montmorency* and *Cosse*, and some Catholicks, with the *Hugonot* Party, to deprive the Queen-mother of the Government, and drive the *Guises* from the Court; where they were very puissant. Our *Henry* entred into it, not out of any design to oblige himself with those people, but only that he might have the means to retire with security into his own Country.

The Queen-mother having understood these practices, caused him and the Duke of *Alenson* to be arrested and committed to Guard. The Prince of *Conde* saved himself happily in *Germany*

many. She caused likewise the two Marshals of *Montmorency* and *Cosse* to be secured; and to let the World see she treated not Princes of their degree in this manner without sufficient cause, she made them be strictly examined, on many treasonable Interrogatories, but which were all false: there were only put to death *la Mole*, *Coconas*, and *Tourtray*; three Gentlemen of note, who had engaged themselves in their Intrigues: and possibly this execution was necessary to calm the spirit of the Nobility and People, who began to murmur, that a Son of *France*, and the first Prince of the Blood, should be treated in this manner. Part I.

and *la Mole*, *Coconas*, and *Tourtray*, to be put to death.

In this affair, the Chancellour would have examined the King of *Navarre*: but though captive and threatned, he would not so much wrong his Dignity as to reply to him. However, to content the Queen-mother, he made a long discourse, addressing his Speech to her; by which he declared many things touching the present estate of affairs, but charged no person, as the Duke of *Alenson* had weakly and unworthily done.

The Chancellour would examine the King of *Navarre*.

King *Charles* IX. being near his death, and hating possibly not without reason both his two Brothers, and his Mother, sent to seek our *Henry*, in whom alone he acknowledged to have found faith and honour; and most affectionately recommended to him his Wife and his Daughter.

Charles 9. near his death, sends for him.

Katherine

Part I. 1574.

Katherine de Medicis, knowing that he had sent for him, was fearful lest he should leave to him the Regency; and to this purpose would cast some fear into his Soul, to the end he should not dare to accept it. As he went to attend the King, who was at *Bois de Vincennes*, she gave order he should be made pass under the Arches, between the Guards, who lay in ambush and posture to massacre him. He startled at first with fear, and recoiled two or three paces backwards: however, *Nanzay le Chastre*, Captain of the Life-guards, reassured him, swearing to him he should receive no prejudice; he was therefore constrained, though he trusted but little to his words, to pass through the Carabines and Halberds.

Queen *Katherine* alarm'd, would affright him

After the death of *Charles* the ninth, *Katherine de Medicis*, partly by force, and partly by cunning, seized on the Regency, expecting the return of her dear Son the Duke of *Anjou*, who was named *Henry* the third.

After the death of *Charles 9.* she seizeth on the Regency.

When he was returned from *Poland*, she brought the two Princes before him, to do with them what he pleased; whom after some chidings and threatnings, he set at liberty.

The two Princes set at liberty.

These two Princes making reflection on the continual dangers they had for two years past been in, resolved with the first occasion to deliver themselves from these fears. The Prince of *Conde*, who was in *Germany*, had raised Levies for the *Hugonot* Party; who, about the end

The Prince of *Conde* was in *Germany*.

end of the Reign of *Charles* IX. had retaken Arms: and *Danville*, ſecond Son to *du Fes* Conſtable, and Brother of the Mareſhal of *Montmorency*, who was a Priſoner in the *Baſtille*, had joyned himſelf to their Party; not taking Religion for his pretext, (becauſe he was a Catholick) but the publick Liberty, and Reformation of the State. This ſort of Catholicks who joyned themſelves in league with the *Hugonots*, were named *the Politicians*. Part I.

Our *Henry* could not eſcape from the Courts ſo ſoon as he deſired: he was diligently watched, and his very Domeſticks were as ſo many Spies over him. He well underſtood, that if he were ſurprized whilſt he endeavoured to ſave himſelf, he ſhould certainly be murdered; and now whilſt he ſought occaſions to do it with ſecurity, he engaged himſelf in new ſnares; becoming paſſionate of *la Dame de Sauves*, Wife to a Secretary of State, and at preſent the faireſt in the whole Court.

The King of *Navarre* cannot eſcape as he deſires.

He falls in love with a Lady.

In the mean time the Queen-mother, who with ſo much diligence kept him at Court, could have been well contented he had been gone. For the King her dear Son, began to take ſome knowledge of his own affairs, a thing much diſpleaſing to her, becauſe ſhe would have governed all: ſhe therefore apprehending, that as he took the Authority into his own hands, hers would be diminiſhed; believed that ſhe ought to embroil all by Factions and Civil Wars; of which ſhe alone, as it may be ſaid, had the Key, ſo that nothing could

The Queen-mother alluminates all the Factions and civil War.

Part I. could pass without her. See here the reason wherefore so long as she lived she did underhand nothing but suscitate troubles, and animate different Parties both at Court and abroad; that in the end, after having caused the desolation of the Estate, and the subversion of all Laws and all Orders, she might her self perish in those flames which she had kindled, and supplied with so much fuel.

1575. Conspiracy against *Henry* III. who confides in our *Henry*.

Amongst these transactions, as the King went to *Rheims* to be installed, a Conspiracy was discovered against his Person; fostred by the Duke of *Alenson*, at the instigation of the friends of the defunct Admiral, and of *de la Mole*, who had been his Favourite: many believed this to be a thing devised by the Queen-mother, of purpose to astonish and weaken the spirit of her Son: and the reason they had to believe it, was, because she obliged the King to pardon this crime so lightly, none either of the Complices or Instigators being punished for it. However it were, *Henry* III. testified in this occasion a particular confidence in our King of *Navarre*; who, assisted by his friends, served him as Captain of his Guards through the whole way, never stirring from the Boot of his Coach: and in this appeared so much the more generous, having no reason to love him, beside the obligation of his duty, being his Kinsman and his Vassal.

Henry III. anointed & espou-

Henry the third being arrived at *Rheims*, was on the fifteenth of the month of *February*, installed by the Cardinal of *Guise*; and on the

the morrow espoused to *Louise de Lorraine*, Daughter of the Count of *Vaudemont*: which added yet a great lustre to the House of *Guise*, of which Duke *Henry* was chief, who was at present in favour, though after killed at *Blois*. This Prince, one of the bravest in all Manners that Age produced, had ever promised himself to govern the King by Queen *Louise* his Kinswoman. He had contracted a very strait familiarity with the King of *Navarre*, whom he called his Master, as that King called him his Gossip.

Part I. sed to *Lo- uis de Lor- raine.*

Familiarity between our *Henry* and the Du[illegible] of *Gu[illegible]*

Queen *Margaret*, who, to speak the truth, could not live without Intrigues nor Gallanteries, contributed with all her power to the entertainment of this good intelligence, and essayed to make the *Monsieur* (who is he we call Duke *d'Alenson*) enter into it, whom she most passionately loved.

But the Union of Princes being the ruine of Favorites, and those that governed, the Queen-mother straight broke this design; begetting in the King a jealousie of his Wife; incensing *Monsieur* against the Duke of *Guise*, by the remembrance of the Massacre of the Admiral; continually confounding the King of *Navarre* by the Intrigue of some Ladies, but particularly of *de Sauves*, who enjoying such person as *Katherine* commanded her, received the love and services of *Monsieur* to create a difference between them.

The Queen-mother breaks the union.

The Queen-mother entertained likewise an irreconcileable hatred between the King and

Part I. *Monsieur*: by which means there arrived an affair which as much proclaimed the greatness of Courage and Generosity of our *Henry*, as any action he had done in his life.

Henry III. falls very sick.

The King being fallen sick, and in great danger of death with a pain in his ear, believed himself to be poysoned, as (a) *Francis* II. had been, and accused *Monsieur*. In this belief he sent to seek the King of *Navarre*, and commands him to dispatch *Monsieur* so soon as he was dead; enforcing himself by all reasons possible, to perswade him that that wicked one would make him perish, and all his, if he prevented it not. The Favourites of the King having the same opinion with their Master, seeing *Monsieur* pass, sacrificed him already to their revenge, by murthering regards.

(a) *Francis* II. died of an Apostume in his ear, which was believed to come of poyson.

A noble and generous action of our *Henry*.

Our *Henry* endeavoured to sweeten the fury of the King, and remonstrated to him the horrible consequences of this Command: but the King, not content with reasons, contrary to them, emported himself in such manner, that he would he should presently execute it, for fear lest he should fail of it when he were dead.

1575. If the two Brothers, to wit, the King and *Monsieur*, had been out of the World, the Crown appertained to him. Now one in all appearances was about to die; and he might easily find a death for the other, having the Favourites, the Officers of the King, the *Guise*, all their friends, and almost all the Nobility at his devotion: for *Monsieur* was a Prince of an

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ill presence; and of low inclinations, yet malign and cruel; and for all these fair qualities, hated by almost all the World, and sustained only by the brave *Bussy d'Amboise*. How few Princes are there that would have let slip so fair an occasion! I dare boldly speak it, how few are there would not seek it? and yet our *Hero* (for in such an action I must of force call him so) was so far from prevailing himself of it, that he conceived a horrour at the furious vengeance of *Henry* III. "*There is no nobler ambition, then to know how to moderate ambition, when it is not just; and to endeavour to conserve our conscience and honour, rather then acquist a Crown by wicked ways. Diadems gained by ill means, are not marks of glory to those fronts that carry them, but rather frontlets of infamy, such as are placed on Thieves and Villains.*

Heaven, without doubt, approved the generous sentiments of our *Henry*, and destined to him the Scepter of the *Flower-de-luce*, because guiltless of an impatience to reach it before his degree. On the contrary, these Brothers of the House of *Valois*, who endeavoured to ravish it one from the other, died all unhappily, and had him for their Successour, who by a crime refused to be so.

Henry III. being recovered, knew well that he had wrongfully accused his Brother to have impoysoned him; yet he loved him never a whit the more: he daily suffered his Favorites to give him a thousand affronts, and

to domineer over him in the publick Assemblies. He would likewise cause *Bussy d'Amboise*, who was his Favorite and only support, to be murthered by night at the Gates of the *Louvre*; and it was believed he had given order, if the Duke of *Alenson* had gone to his assistance, (for there were people appointed to come and tell him that *Bussy* was assassinated) to slay him likewise. In such manner, that getting the bridle out of his teeth, he escaped from Court, put himself in the field, gathered together some male-contents, composed an Army, and joyned with that of the *Hugonots*, commanded by the Prince of *Conde*, and by *Casimir*, youngest Son of the Count *Palatine*; who, in these Civil Wars of the Religion, twice or thrice led great Levies of *German* Horse into *France*.

1576. *Monsieur* departs from Court, & joyns with the *Hugonots*.

Our *Henry* was puissantly sollicited to follow him; and *Monsieur* said he had promised him to do it; but they had taken from about him all those who might favour his escape, and placed in their stead people of their own hire. He was moreover promised the Lieutenant-Generalship of the Kings Army; which was a strong Lure to retain him; nor was the love of the fair *de Sauves* less powerful. However, the natural spurs of his Courage, and the fear he had lest *Monsieur* and the Prince of *Conde* should seize on the chief Command amongst the *Hugonot* Party, which had been his Cradle, and was to be his Castle; the remonstrances of some of his Servants, and the invention

Our *Henry* could not soon follow him, but at length saves himself at *Alenson*.

ventions of Queen *Katherine*, who expressly incensed the King against him, in the end obliged him to escape; and made him take his resolution. Part I.

He saved himself therefore by feigning to go on the Chace towards *Senlis*, and retired to *Alençon*; where however he acted nothing the Peace being soon after concluded with them all. There was granted to *Monsieur* a great Portion in money and places; to the *Hugonots* many very advantagious conditions; to the Prince of *Conde* the Government of *Picardy*, and the City of *Peronne*, for his retreat: but to our *Henry* nothing else but hopes; of which being in the end dis-abused, he renounced the Peace, re-entred into the *Hugonot* Party; and quitting the Catholick Church, returned anew to his first Religion. It is to be believed, that he did it because he was perswaded it was the better: thus his fault will be worthy of excuse, nor can he be accused but for not having the true light. In the mean time it must not be forgot to observe on this, that the greatest reproach his Enemies ever made him, I mean those of the League, was his having thus relapsed; and this was likewise the greatest obstacle he found at *Rome*, when being converted, he demanded the absolution of the Pope.

Peace made with *Monsieur* and the *Hugonots*.

1576. Our *Henry* againe turns *Hugonot*.

He is received in to *Rochel*, and after goes into *Guyenne*.

The *Rochellers* received him into their City, but not without great Pre-cautions, and not until he had driven from him some people, who were neither *Catholicks* nor *Hugonots*, but

Part I.

but Atheists, and horrible wicked persons. It hath been held, that they followed him against his will; that truly he had served himself of them in some Intrigues, but that it was himself who by secret advice obliged the *Rochellers* to demand their expulsion.

The Gates of *Bourdeaux* shut against him.

After he had sojourned some months at *Rochel*, he went to take possession of his Government of *Guyenne*, where he had the displeasure to see shut against him the Gates of the City of *Bourdeaux*, under pretext that the Inhabitants feared that if he became Master of it, he would banish the Catholick Religion. A very sensible injury to a young Prince full of Courage; but he knew most wisely how to dissemble it at present, because he had not power to revenge it, and generously forgot it, when he had the means to do it.

1576.

The birth of the League.

About this time the League took birth, that puissant Faction, which for twenty years together tormented *France*, which thought to introduce the *Spanish* Domination, and which would have reversed the order of the Succession of the Royal Family, under the fairest pretext in the World, to wit, the maintenance of the Religion of our Ancestors.

At other times, under the Reign of *Charles* the Ninth, there were divers Leagues and Associations made in *Guyenne* and *Languedoc* to defend the Church against the *Huguenots*; (I leave it to judge whether those who rendred themselves Chief of them, had most Zeal, or most Ambition) but they were not pressed so for-

forward, nor ſo diligently formed, and therefore became extinct. The Grandees of the Realm however might by them obſerve, that if at any time ſuch Aſſociations were made, it would be a fair means to elevate to a great height him who could render himſelf their Chief. Part I. These Leagues a fair path for the ambitious to riſe by.

Henry Duke of *Guiſe*, who had a King-like heart, had in all likelihood this thought; or if he at firſt had it not, the Favourites of *Henry* the Third, by perſecuting him, forced him to entertain it, and to apply himſelf to this Party, to defend himſelf againſt them. There were of his Houſe ſeven or eight Princes, all brave to the utmoſt extent. The principal of them were the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the Cardinal *de Guiſe* his Brothers, the Duke *d'Aumerle*, and the Marqueſs *d'Elbœuf* his Couſins. The Duke of *Guiſe* makes himſelf Chief of the league

Now the Evaſion of *Monſieur*, of which we have ſpoken, to the *Hugonots*, and the advantagious Peace after granted them, made the League ſhew it ſelf, which was but little in its commencement. Thoſe who to render themſelves puiſſant deſired a new Faction in the State, took this ſubject, to make it be repreſented by their Emiſſaries the great danger in which the *Catholick* Religion was, and to remonſtrate the exceſſive puiſſance of its Enemies, who had on their ſide the two firſt Princes of the Blood, and *Monſieur* who was their Friend. What would it be, ſaid they, if he ſhould come to the Crown with ſuch ill intentions? that therefore they ought to adviſe The War of *Monſieur*, and his joyning with the *Hugonots*, the cauſe of the league

Part I. in good time, and fortifie themſelves againſt that danger which threatned the holy Church. They whiſpered at preſent theſe Conſiderations, and other like them, into mens ears; and when they had diſpoſed their ſpirits, publiſhed them aloud.

The Cities of *Picardy* begin it, and why.

Upon this, the Burgeſſes of *Peronne*, a free City, and which was accuſtomed to have ſo puiſſant a Governour, refuſed to receive the Prince of *Conde*, becauſe a *Hugonot*. He made his complaints to the King, and demanded the execution of the Treaty of Peace. The *Picards* oppoſed him, and were the firſt that made a League or Union for the defence, as they ſaid, of the *Catholick*, *Apoſtolick*, and *Roman* Faith. The Prince of *Conde* could never have reaſon, and was conſtrained to retire into *Guyenne*.

James Lord *d'Humieres*, was made Chief of this League in *Picardy*; and *Aplincourt* a young Gentleman took the Oath of the Inhabitants of *Peronne*; by whoſe example the Cities of *Amiens*, *Corbie*, St. *Quintins*, and many others, did the like. *Louis de la Trimouille* began one likewiſe in *Poictou*. The Queen-mother ſecretly favoured this deſign, to the end ſhe might retain her Authority among theſe diſcords and diſturbances. The firſt Model, and the Articles of this League, were brought to *Paris*; and there were ſome ſo zealous as to carry them from houſe to houſe, endeavouring to engage the moſt backward: but *Chriſtopher de Thou*, chief Preſi-

Chriſtopher de Thou hinders its procedure at *Paris*.

dent

dent, hindred for the preſent the progreſs of this Conſpiracy. Part I.

Thoſe who were the firſt Inventors of it, had deliberated among themſelves, that to the end to give it means to aggrandize it ſelf, and to keep the ſpirits of the people ſtill warm, it was neceſſary to continue the War with the *Hugonots*: for this purpoſe, they ſtirred up divers perſons who ſurprized their places, and committed a thouſand affronts againſt our *Henry* and the Prince of *Conde*. And much more, they raiſed ſo many Factions and Complaints on all ſides, of people who demanded the ſummoning of the Eſtates, that the King was obliged to agree to it. They aſſembled then at *Blois*, and began in the month of *December*, in the year 1575. The *Hugonots* themſelves were not at all troubled at this Convocation, becauſe they imagined that the third Eſtate, which ordinarily is the ſtrongeſt, and which hath moſt reaſon to apprehend the War, would cauſe the Peace to be confirmed: but the *Junćto* of thoſe which were for War, was ſo ſtrong, that it was reſolved puiſſantly to proſecute it.

The Leaguers oblige the King to call the Eſtates. They aſſemble at *Blois*.

War reſolved againſt the *Hugonots*.

They judged it notwithſtanding convenient to depute before-hand ſome perſons of the Aſſembly to our *Henry* and to the Prince of *Conde*, to exhort them to return into the boſom of the Catholick Church. And this taking no effect, the King was obliged to declare himſelf Chief of the League; and ſo from Soveraign, become Chief of a Faction, an Enemy to a part of his Subjects. He

Henry III. declares himſelf chief of the League.

Part I.

1577. He raiſed three or four Armies, who made War againſt the *Hugonots* in the *Dauphinate*, in *Guyenne*, in *Languedoc*, and in *Poitou*; and reduced, and might have quite cruſht them, if their ruine had been reſolutely proſecuted, in that aſtoniſhment wherein he had put them. But the Queen-mother, who only deſired the War, that ſhe might have affairs in agitation, and not that they might have their iſſue, perſwaded the King her Son, for certain ſtudied reaſons, to grant them Peace.

The Treaty being concluded, the Queen-mother made a Voyage into *Guyenne*: ſhe feigned that it was to cauſe it to be punctually executed, and to carry her Daughter *Margaret* to the King of *Navarre* her Husband; but it was in effect to ſow ſeeds of Diſcord among the *Hugonots*, to the end ſhe might be Miſtreſs of that Party as ſhe had been in that of the *Catholicks*. *Henry* now kept his little Court at *Nerac*: he had before kept it at *Agen*, where he was beloved of the people by reaſon of his juſtice and goodneſs: But it happened, that at a Ball or Dance ſome young people of his own Train blew out the Candles, to commit inſolencies; which ſo ſcandalized the Inhabitants, that they delivered their City to the Mareſhal of *Byron*, whom the King had ſent Governour into the Province of *Guyenne*.

A little time after, *Henry* likewiſe loſt *la Reole* by another folly of his young people. He had given the Government of it to an old *Hugonot* Captain named *d'Uſſac*, who had his viſage

The Queen-mother obliges him to grant them Peace.

She makes a Voyage into Guyenne and carries with her her Daughter *Margaret*.

The King of Navarre loſes *Agen* & *la Reole* by two follies of Youth.

sage horribly deformed: his deformity how- Part I.
ever hindred him not from becoming passio-
nate of one of the Ladies attending the Queen-
mother: for she had brought many of the
most bewitching with her, to kindle a fire eve-
ry where. The Viscount of *Turenne*, afterwards
Duke of *Bouillon*, aged at present about twenty
one or twenty two years, with some others of
his age, would make Raillery of this business:
our *Henry*, instead of commanding them silence,
made himself of their Party; and having a
fluent spirit, assisted them in casting out some
mocks and jeers against this doting Lover.
There is no passion renders a heart so sensible
as this. *Usez* could not suffer this Raillery,
though proceeding from his Master; but in
prejudice of his Honour and Religion, he
yielded and delivered up *la Reole* to *Duras*; a
Lord who having been in favour with our
Henry, had quitted him, out of envy, because
he testified less affection to him then to *Roquelaire*, who was without doubt one of the most
honest and most pleasant men of his time.

These two losses of *Agen* and *la Reole*, gave
him, and ought to give all Princes, two very
necessary Instructions.

Two exquisite reflexions.

"The first, That a Prince ought well to go-
"vern his Courtiers, the rather, because all
"their disorders are imputed to him: and that
"it is presumed when they do them, that it is
"himself commits them, because obliged to
"hinder them.

"The

"The second, That above all things he abstain from Raillery: for there is no Vice "which makes so many enemies, nor which is "more dangerous, because others may be "concealed. Such a word as issuing from the "mouth of a particular person, would be ac-"counted but a light Jest, is like a stab of a "Poignard from that of a Prince; and leaves "in the heart mortal resentments. Nor must "great ones be flattered with this opini-"on, that their Subjects or their Inferiours "ought to suffer all things from them: for "where Honour is concerned, the more the "person that wounds is superiour, the greater "is the wound: as the impression of a body is "deeper, the more feet it hath, and the higher "it falls.

Queen *Margaret* did not over-well love her Husband, nor he her

The Queen-mother had taken with her, as we have said, Queen *Margaret* to her husband. Neither the one nor the other of the two Spouses were over-well content. *Margaret*, who loved the splendour of the *French* Court, where she swam, if we may so speak, in full Intrigues, believed to be in *Guyenne* was a kind of banishment: and *Henry*, knowing her humour and carriage, would rather have chose her room then her company. However seeing it a remedilesss ill, he resolved to suffer it, leaving her an entire liberty: he esteemed her rather as a Sister of his King, then as his Wife. He likewise pretended some nullities in the Marriage, but attended time and place to

make

make them known. In the mean time, accommodating himself to the season, and to the necessity of his affairs, he endeavoured to draw advantages from her Intrigues, and from her credit. He received no small one in the Conference which he and the Deputies of the *Hugonots* had at *Nerac* with the Queen-mother: for whilst she thought to inchant them by the Charms of those fair Ladies she had expresly brought with her, and by the Eloquence of *Pibrac*; *Margaret* opposed the same Artifices, gained the Gentlemen who were near her Mother by the attractions of her Ladies, and imployed so well her own, that she inchanted the spirit and will of the poor *Pibrac* in such manner, that he acted not but by her motion, and quite contrary to the intentions of the Queen-mother, who, not distrusting that a man so wise could be capable of so great folly, was deceived in many Articles, and insensibly carried to grant much more to the *Hugonots* then she had resolved.

Part he but he draws advantages from her Intrigues.

Scarce were eight months spent since the Peace, but the Queen-mother, *Monsieur*, and the *Guises*, began to be weary of it. The Queen-mother, because she would not have the King rest any long time without having need of her Negotiations and Intermission: *Monsieur*, because by re-kindling the War, he thought to render himself redoubtable to the King, and to make him give him Forces to carry into the Low-Countries; which being revolted from *Spain*, demanded him for their Soveraign:

The Queen-mother, *Monsieur*, and the *Guises* weary of the Peace.

And

Part I. And in fine, the *Guiſes*, becauſe they feared leſt the ardour of the League ſhould by too long a calm, grow cold.

1579. In theſe wiſhes, they preſſed the King to redemand the places of ſecurity granted to the *Hugonots*; and under-hand *Monſieur* and the Queen-mother cauſed it to be told to our *Henry*, that he ſhould not ſurrender them, but hold it out that his cauſe was juſt, and that his ſafety conſiſted in his Arms. *Margaret*, who knew his weakneſs, and who likewiſe wiſht the War, excited him by the perſwaſion of Ladies whom ſhe foſtered to this deſign; and by the ſame means animated alike all thoſe braves who approached her; nor ſpared ſhe her ſelf with the Viſcount of *Turenne* for this purpoſe: ſo that this Prince, poſſibly with very little juſtice, and certainly to very ill purpoſe, was carried to a rupture, and engaged the *Hugonots* in a new Civil War, which was named for the reaſons I but now ſpeak of, *The War of the Lovers*.

They under-hand perſwade the King of *Navarre* to a Rupture.

This was the moſt diſadvantagious they ever yet made: by it they loſt a great quantity of ſtrong places; and were in ſuch manner weakned, that had the purſuit of them been finiſhed, they could never have regained ſtrength. But *Monſieur*, who deſired to tranſport all the Forces both of the one and the other Party into the Low-Countries, made himſelf Mediator of the Peace, and obtained it by an Edict, which was concluded after the Conference of *Fleix*.

which proves very diſadvantagious to him.

Monſieur procures the Peace.

This Peace was the cause of almost as many evils to the Estate, as all the former Wars had been. The two Courts of the two Kings, and the two Kings themselves, plunged themselves in their pleasures; with this difference however, that our *Henry* was not so absolutely lull'd asleep with his delights, but he thought sometimes of his affairs, being awakened and lively reminded by the Remonstrances of the Ministers of his Religion, and by the reproaches of the old Captains of the *Hugonots*, who spoke to him with great liberty. But *Henry* the Third was wholly overwhelmed with softness and feebleness, he seemed to have neither heart nor motion: and his Subjects could scarce know that he was in the World, but because he daily charged them with new Imposts, all the money of which, was disposed to the benefit of his Favorites.

Part 2. Of much damage to the Estate, being the cause the two *Henries* plunged themselves in pleasure.

He had always three or four at a time; and at present he began to cast his Graces on *Joyeuse*, and the two *Nogarets*; to wit, *Bernard* and *Jean-Lewis*, of whom the eldest died five or six years after, and the youngest was Duke *d'Espernon*, one of the most memorable and most wonderful Subjects that the Court had ever seen elevated in its favour; and who certainly had qualities as eminent as his Fortune. In the mean time, the excessive gifts which the King gave to all his Favorites, excited the crys of the people, because they were trampled on; and their monstrous greatness displeased the Princes, because they believed

Henry III. hath Favorites who prejudice his affairs.

lieved themselves despised; in such manner, that they rendred themselves odious to all the World: and the hate carried to them, fell likewise upon the King, whilst that violence which they obliged him to use towards his Parliaments, to confirm his Edicts of Creation and Imposts, augmented it yet more: for if his Authority made his Wills pass as absolute, he drew the peoples curses; and if the vigour of the Soveraign Companies, as often happened, stopt them, he attracted their disdain.

The people, who easily licentiate themselves to Rebellion against their Prince, when they have lost for him all sentiments of esteem and veneration, spoke strange things of him and his Favorites. The *Guises*, (whom the Minions (for so the Favorites were called) opposed in all occasions, endeavouring to deprive them of their Charges and Governments, to re-invest themselves) were not wanting to blow the fire, and to increase the animosities of the people; particularly of the great Cities, whom Favorites have always feared, and who have always hated Favorites. These were the principal Dispositions to the aggrandizing the League, and to the loss of *Henry* III.

Dispositions to the League, & to the loss of Hen. 3.

1584. It is not to our purpose to recount here all the Intrigues of the Court during five or six years; nor the War of the Low-Countries, from which *Monsieur* (a) brought nothing but

(a) *Monsieur intending to surprize Antwerp, and treating ill the people of the Low Countries, who had called him, was driven thence.*

but disgrace. It is only necessary to tell, that in the year 1684. *Monsieur* died at *Castle-Thierry*, without having been married; that *Henry* III. had likewise no Children; and that it was but too well known he was uncapable of ever having any, by reason of an uncurable disease which he contracted at *Venice*, in his return from *Poland*. See here the reason why, as soon as *Monsieur* was judged to death by the Physicians, the *Guises* and Queen-Mother began to labour each on their side to assure themselves of the Crown, as if the succession had been open to them: for neither the one nor the other accounted for any thing our *Henry*; so much the rather, because he was beyond the seventh degree, beyond which in ordinary Successions is accounted no Kindred; and because he was not of that Religion, of which all the Kings of *France* have been since *Clovis*, and by consequence incapable to wear the Crown, or bear the Title of *Thrice-Christian*. Add to this, that he was two hundred Leagues distant from *Paris*, and as it were shut up in a corner of *Guyenne*, where it seemed to them easie to ensnare him or oppress him.

Part I. The death of the *Monsieur* begets thoughts of a Successor to the Crown.

The Queen-Mother designs to give the Crown to the Children of her daughter married to the Duke of *Lorraine*.

The Queen-Mother had a design to give the Crown to the Children of her Daughter married to the Duke of *Lorraine*, whom she would have treated as Princes of the Blood, as if the Crown of *France* could fall under the command of the Spindle. Nor was she carried to this only out of the love she had for them, but

Part I. but out of a ſecret hatred ſhe had conceived againſt our *Henry*, becauſe ſhe ſaw that contrary to all her wiſhes, Heaven opened him a way to come to the Throne.

A belief that the Duke of *Guiſe* hoped to reign himſelf.

Beſides, ſhe was too much deceived, for ſo able a Woman, to believe that the Duke of *Guiſe* would favour her in her deſign: there was much appearance, and after affairs ſufficiently teſtified it, that ſeeing himſelf perſecuted by the Favorites, and ill treated by the King himſelf, for their ſakes he had thoughts to aſſure the Crown for his own head. "*For ill treatments work at leaſt no* "*other effect then to caſt into extreme deſpair,* "*Souls ſo Noble and Elevated as that of this* "*Prince.* But he knowing well that of himſelf he could not arrive at ſo high a pitch, and that ſpecially, becauſe it would be difficult to divert the affection which the people of *France* naturally have for the Princes of the Blood; he adviſed himſelf to gain the old Cardinal *de Bourbon*, who was Uncle of our *Henry*: he promiſed him therefore, that the death of *Henry* the Third arriving, he would imploy all his power, and that of his Friends, to make him King: and that good man doting with age, permitting himſelf to be flattered with theſe vain hopes, made himſelf the Bauble of the Dukes Ambition, who by this means drew to his Party a great number of Catholicks, who conſidered the Houſe of *Bourbon*.

The Queſtion was, If the Uncle ought to precede

precede the Son of the Elder Brother in the Succeſſion: and to ſpeak truth, the buſineſs was not without ſome difficulty, becauſe according to the Cuſtom of *Paris*, the Capital of the Realm, and many other Cuſtoms, collateral repreſentation hath no place. This point of Right was diverſly agitated by the Reverend Judges; and many Treats were had, ſome in favour of the Uncle, and others of the Nephew: but theſe were but Combats of words; the Sword was to decide the difference. It ſeemed to many great Polititians, that the Duke of *Guiſe* acted contrary to his own intereſts and deſign, by acknowledging that the Cardinal of *Bourbon* ought to Succeed to the Crown; this being to avow, that after his death, which could ſuffer no long delay, it would appertain to our *Henry* his Nephew. Part I.

Henry III. knew his deſign, or was advertiſed of it by his Favorites.

Henry III. knew well his deſign, or rather was advertiſed of it by his Favorites, who ſaw in it their certain ruine, and therefore ſo much deſired to bring back the King of *Navarre* to the *Catholick* Church, to the end he might deprive the *Leaguers* of that ſpecious Pretext they had to entertain the *League*: He ſent therefore to him the Duke *d'Eſpernon*, who Eſſayed to Convert him by reaſons of Intereſt and Policy. Our *Henry* hearkened to him; but he teſtified that thoſe were not motives ſufficiently puiſſant to make him Change; and ſent him back with many Civilities.

He ſends the Duke *d'Eſpernon* to the King of *Navarre*, to oblige him to return to the Catholick Church; but he refuſes.

Part I.

The *Hugonots* were so vain, as to publish and cause to be Printed the Conference of this Prince with *Espernon*, to shew that he was unshaken in his Religion, and possibly likewise to engage him more strongly in it. The Duke of *Guise* was not wanting to profit himself of it, and to remonstrate to the Catholick people the stubbornness of this Prince; and what they might hope, if he came to the Crown with such sentiments.

The Duke of *Guise* profits himself of it.

To stop therefore his way to it, he made the Zealous openly renew the League; and boldly bringing it into *Paris*, where some new Religious persons inspired this Ardour into peoples souls by Confessions, held the first publick Assembly at the Colledge *de Fortet*, which was called *the Cradle of the League*. Many Burgesses, many Tradesmen, and likewise some Clerks of *Paris*, entred into it. They carried it to *Rome*, and presented it to Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth for his approbation; but he never would give it: and continually, so long as he lived, disavowed it.

The League established at *Paris*.

The Pope disapproves it.

So soon as he grew a little great and strong, those who had engendred it, made it appear that it was not only to provide for the security of Religion for the future, but that at present they might approach themselves near to the Crown; and that they not only would have it against the King of *Navarre*, who was to Succeed, but against *Henry* the Third, who now reigned: They kept in Salary certain new Divines, who durst openly sustain, that a

It is turned against *Henry* III.

Prince

Prince ought to be depoſed who acquits himſelf not well of his duty: "That no power "but that which is well ordered, is of God; "otherwiſe, when it paſſes due bounds, it "is not Authority, but Uſurpation: and that "it is as abſurd to ſay that he ought to be "King who knows not how to govern, or "who is deprived of underſtanding, as to "believe a blind man a fit guide, or an im-"moveable Statue able to make living men "move. Part I.

In the mean time the Duke of *Guiſe* was retired to his Government of *Champagne*, feigning himſelf diſcontented; but it was to make the Duke of *Lorraine* ſign the League, out of hopes he would cauſe his Son to Succeed to the Crown, to which he pretended to have right by his Mother, Daughter to *Henry* the Second. He held to this purpoſe a Treaty at *Jointville*, where he likewiſe found Agents from the King of *Spain*, who ſigned to the Treaty, and as it was reported, did by Letters of Exchange ſupply the Duke of *Guiſe* with great ſums of money.

The Treaty of *Joinville* where the *Spaniards* enters into the league & furniſh money.

At his departure thence, the Duke aſſembled Troops on all ſides: his friends ſeized on as many places as they could, not only amongſt the *Hugonots*, but likewiſe amongſt the *Catholiques*. The King might eaſily have diſſipated theſe Levies, had he taken the field. But the Queen-Mother, like to ſelf-intereſted Phyſicians, who would for their profit augment the diſeaſe, withheld and amuſed

The League ſeize many places.

Part I.

amused him in his Closet, perswading him that if he would leave to her the management of this affair, she would easily reduce the Duke to his obedience. To this purpose she held a Conference with him at *Vitry*, and so gave him time to strengthen his Party; and when he saw himself in an estate to fear nothing, he broke the Conference, and made shew of some resolutions to come directly to *Paris*.

The Queen Mother enters into conference with *Guise*; who breaks it when he sees himself in an estate to fear nothing.

The King astonished, prayed his Mother to conclude an accommodation upon any terms: which she did by the Treaty of *Nemours*, by which she granted to the Duke and other Princes of his House, the Government of several Provinces, many great sums of money, together with a most bloody Edict against the *Hugonots*, which forbad the profession of any other Religion then the *Catholique*, under Penalty of Confiscation of Goods and Estate, with Command to all Preachers and Ministers to depart the Realm within one month, and all *Hugonots* of what degree or quality soever within six months, or otherwise abjure their false Religion. This Edict was called the Edict of *Juillet*, which the League farther constrained the King to carry himself into the Parliament, and cause it to be ratified.

The King astonished, grants him all he desires

1585. A little after arrived news from *Rome* that *Sextus* the Fifth, who succeeded *Gregory* the Eighteenth, had approved the League, and had besides fulminated out terrible Bulls against the King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Conde*,

Pope *Sextus* 5. excommunicates the King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Conde*.

Conde, declaring them Hereticks, Apoſtates, Chiefs, Favourers and Protectors of Hereticks, and ſuch as falling under the Cenſures and Pains concluded on in the Laws and Canons, depriving them and their deſcendants of all Lands and Dignities, incapable to ſucceed to any Principality whatſoever, eſpecially to the Kingdom of *France*; and not only abſolving their Subjects from all Oaths of Fidelity, but abſolutely forbidding them to obey them. Part I.

The vertue of our *Henry* awakened.

It was now that our *Henry* had need of all the Forces both of his Courage and Vertue to ſuſtain ſo rude aſſaults. He ſeemed in a manner lull'd aſleep by his pleaſures: when the noiſe of theſe great aſſaults awakened him, he recalled all his Vertue, and began to make it appear more vigorouſly then ever before. And certainly he afterwards avowed that his Enemies had highly obliged him, by perſecuting him in this manner: for had they left him in repoſe, that reſt had poſſibly Entombed him in a corner of *Guyenne*, and he not have been conſtrained to think of his affairs; ſo that at the death of *Henry* III. he would not have been in an eſtate to attempt or entertain the Crown.

He doth two noble actions.

He now did two Actions of great Renown: the firſt, was his commanding *Pleſſis Mornay*, a Gentleman of excellent Education, and who could be reproached with nothing but being a *Hugonot*, to anſwer the *Manifeſto* of the League by an Apology, and by a Declara-

Part I. tion which he cauſed to be drawn. In this laſt piece, (the Chiefs of the League having ſpread abroad divers calumnies againſt his honour) he with all ſubmiſſion beſought the King his Soveraign, that he would not be offended if he did pronounce, ſaving ſtill the reſpect due to his Majeſty, that they did falſely and maliciouſly lye: and moreover, that to ſpare the blood of his Nobles, and ſhun the deſolation of the poor people, thoſe infinite diſorders, and above all, thoſe blaſphemies, burnings, and violations which the licenſe of War muſt cauſe, he offered to the Duke of *Guiſe*, Chief of the League, to decide this quarrel by his perſon againſt his, one to one, two to two, ten to ten, or what number he ſhould pleaſe, with Arms generally in uſe by Cavaleers of Honour, either in the Realm of *France*, or in ſuch places as his Majeſty ſhould command, or elſe in ſuch place as the Duke of *Guiſe* himſelf ſhould chuſe.

He defies the Duke of *Guiſe* to ſingle Combat.

This Declaration had a great effect over peoples ſpirit. They ſaid, That force could not juſtly be imployed againſt him, who ſo far ſubmitted himſelf to reaſon: and the greateſt part of the Nobility approved this generous procedure; and proclaimed aloud, that the Duke of *Guiſe* ought not to refuſe ſo great an Honour.

That Duke wanted no courage to accept the Defiance; but he conſidered, that drawing his Sword againſt a Prince of the Blood, was in *France* accounted a kind of Parricide; that otherwiſe he could willingly have reduced

Why the Duke of *Guiſe* accepted not the defiance.

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the cauſe of Religion, and of the Publick, to a particular Quarrel. He therefore prudently anſwered, That he eſteemed the perſon of the King of *Navarre*, and would have no Controverſie with him; but that he only intereſted himſelf for the Catholick Religion, which was threatned; and for the tranquillity of the Kingdom, which only and abſolutely depended on the Unity of Religion. Part I.

His other Action was thus. Having underſtood the noiſe of thoſe Paper-Thunder-bolts which the Pope had thrown out againſt him, he diſpatched one to the King to make his Complaints to him; and to remonſtrate to him, That this procedure concerned his Majeſty nearer then himſelf; That he ought to judge, That if the Pope took upon him to decide concerning his Succeſſion, and ſhould ſeize to himſelf a right to declare a Prince of the Blood unable of the Crown, he might afterwards well paſs further, and dethrone himſelf, as *Zachary* is reported to have formerly degraded *Childeric* III. The other gallant Action of our *Henry*.

Upon theſe Remonſtrances, the King hindred the publication of thoſe Bulls in his Dominions. But our *Henry*, not contenting himſelf therewith, knowing himſelf to have friends at *Rome*, proved ſo hardy as to fix his and the Prince of *Conde* his oppoſition at the corners of the chiefeſt ſtreets of the City: by which thoſe Princes appealed from the Sentence of *Sixtus*, to the Court of *Peerage* of *France*; giving the Lye to whoever accuſed them of the He cauſes to be fixed up at the corners of the chief ſtreets of *Rome*, oppoſitions to the ſentence of *Sixtus* the Fifth.

Part I. the Crime of Hereſie; offering to prove the contrary in a general Council: and in the end, profeſſing that they would revenge upon him, and upon all his Succeſſors, the injury done their King, the Royal Family, and all the Courts of Parliament.

who at firſt is incenſed, but afterwards conceives a great eſteem for him.

It could not but be ſuppoſed, that this oppoſition would incenſe to the utmoſt the ſpirit of *Sextus* the Fifth; and indeed at firſt he teſtified a very furious emotion. However, when his Choler was a little aſſwaged, he admired the great Courage of that King, who at ſuch a diſtance had known how to revenge himſelf, and fix the marks of his reſentment even at the Gates of his Palace: in ſuch manner, that he conceived ſo great an eſteem for him, (ſo true is it, that Vertue makes it ſelf be reverenced by its very Enemies) that he was often afterwards heard ſay, That of all thoſe who reigned in *Chriſtendom*, there was none but this Prince, and *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, to whom he would have communicated thoſe great things which agitated his ſpirit, if they had not been Hereticks. Nor could all the prayers of the League ever oblige him to furniſh any thing towards the charges of this War, which poſſibly overwhelmed the greateſt part of their Enterprizes, becauſe their hopes in part depended on a Million which he had promiſed them.

Now as on their ſide, the Chiefs of the League endeavoured to ingage on their Party all the Lords and Cities they could; our *Hen-*

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ry on his part re-united with him all his friends both of the one and the other Religion: the Mareſhal of *Danville-Montmorency* Governour of *Languedoc*: the Duke of *Mont-penſier*, Prince of the Blood, who was Governour of *Poictou*, with his Son the Prince of *Dombes*: the Prince of *Conde*, who held a part of *Poictou*, of *Xaintonge*, and of *Angoumois*: the Count of *Soiſſons*, and the Prince of *Conty* his Brother. Of theſe five Princes of the Blood, the three laſt were his Couſin-Germans, the two firſt were removed one degree further; and all profeſſed the Catholick Religion, ſave only the Prince of *Conde*. He had likewiſe on his part *Leſdiguieres*, who, from a plain Gentleman, had by his Valour elevated himſelf to ſo high a point, that he was Maſter of the *Dauphinate*, and made the Duke of *Savoy* tremble: *Claudius de la Trimouille*, who poſſeſſed great Lands in *Poictou* and *Brittany*, and was ſometimes before turned *Hugonot*, that he might have the honour to marry his Daughter to the Prince of *Conde*: *Henry de la Tour*, Viſcount a *Turenne*, who either out of complacency, or true perſwaſion, had eſpouſed the new Religion: *Chaſtillon*, Son to the Admiral of *Coligny*; *la Boulaye* Lord *Poitevin*; *Rene*, chief of the Houſe of *Rohan*; *George de Clermont d'Amboiſe*; *Francis*, Count of *Rochefoucaud*; the Lord *d'Aubetterre*; *James de Caumont-la-force*; the *Seigneur de Pons*; *Saint Gelais-Lanſac*: with many other Lords and Gentlemen of remark, all, or moſt, of the new Religion.

Part I. The King of *Navarre* makes a League to defend himſelf.

Part I. gion. At the same time he dispatched to *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, and to the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, such able Agents, that they joyned all together in a strong Union, The One to maintain the Other: so that all these being united, all things arrived contrary to what the League expected, and our *Henry* found himself fortified in such manner, that he had no longer any apprehension of being oppressed, without having the means to defend himself.

I shall not here make a particular Recital of the Actions either of the one or the other Party during the years 1585. and 1586. because I have observed nothing very considerable.

1586. *Henry* III. hated both the League & the *Hugonots*, and loved none but his Favorites. The Queen-Mother endeavors an accommodation with the King of *Navarre*.

King *Henry* the Third was extremely perplexed at this War, which was maintained at his expence, and to his great prejudice, since they disputed the Succession, he yet living, and well, and already considered him as one dead. He loved neither the one nor the other Party, but did so much cherish his Favourites, (strange blindness!) that he could have desired, had it been in his power, to have parted his Estate amongst them. The League on their side pretended to have power enough to carry it; and our *Henry* hoped to frustrate the designs both of the one and the other. The Queen-Mother having other wishes for the Children of her Daughter married to the Duke of *Lorraine*, promised the King to find means to

to calm all theſe tempeſts. To this purpoſe ſhe procured a Truce with our *Henry*: during which, an Interview was agreed upon between him and her at the Caſtle of St. *Brix* near *Coignac*; where both the one and the other met in the month of *December*. Part I.

The Interview and Conference at St. *Brix*.

There was ſome difficulty to find ſecurity both for the one and the other; but eſpecially for the Queen-Mother, who was wonderfully diſtruſtful. Our *Henry* hereupon did an Action of great Generoſity; which he managed in this manner; there had a Truce been agreed upon for the ſecurity of this Conference, in ſuch ſort, that if either Party broke it, they were in fault, and might juſtly be arreſted: now ſome of our *Henry*'s Followers, feigning to be Traytors, had enticed ſome of the Catholick-Captains, too greedy of the booty, to *Fontenay*, which they would have let them take: by this means the Catholicks would have remained convict of perfidy, and he had had good pretence to arreſt the Queen-mother: but this generous Prince, having underſtood the carriage of this foul play, was extremely troubled againſt thoſe who contrived it, and forbad them to continue it. Was not this to have the true ſentiments of honour founded in his Soul, and not only in his exteriour Carriage? A noble & generous Action of our Prince

And as he teſtified his Generoſity in that Rencounter, ſo he made known his Conſtancy and the power of his Spirit in all the Diſcourſe. The Queen demanding of him what His conſtancy in the whole Conference.

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Part I. it was he would; he answered, regarding those Ladies she had brought with her, *Madam, there is nothing that I would have:* as if he would have said, That he would not longer permit himself to be drawn away by such allurements. She endeavoured above all things to dis-unite him with the other Chiefs of his Party, or to render him suspected, offering all that he demanded as to his particular: but he, knowing well her Stratagem, held firmly to this point, That he could not treat any thing without communicating it to his Friends.

After a long Entertainment, she once demanding him, if the pains she had taken should produce no more fruit, especially to her, who only wished for repose; he answered her, *Madam, I am not the cause of it, nor is it I who hinder you from resting in your Bed: it is you that hinder me from resting in mine. That pains you take, pleaseth and nourishes you; for Repose is the greatest enemy of your life.*

He made many other Replies, very lively and full of spirit; but above all, that was observable which he made to the Duke of *Nevers*, of the House of *Gonzague*, who accompanied the Queen-mother. This Duke advancing once to tell him that he might live much more honourably near the King then among those people who had no authority; and that if he should have occasion for money at *Rochel*, he would scarce have the credit to raise one Impost; he fiercely replied, *Sir, I*

A handsom answer to Duke *de Nevers.*

do

do at Rochel *all that I please, because I shall please to do nothing but what I ought.* Part I.

This Conference of St. *Brix* having produced nothing but new Exasperations, and the Queen-mother being returned, the *Guises*, who endeavoured by all means possible to revenge themselves of the Favorites, made offer of their service to our *Henry*; and the Duke of *Mayenne* sent to tell him, that there might means be found for an accommodation, if he would understand them: that he would come to find him with four Horse, at whatever place he pleased; and that he would give him his Wife and Children for Hostage. This Negotiation had no success, nor can I find the cause why it was interrupted.

Conference at St. *Brix* produceth nothing.

The rest of the Winter passed in the two Courts in Feasts and Dances: for though among the miseries and troubles of the Kingdom, Queen *Katherine* had introduced that Custom of Dancing in all places and in all seasons: which she did, as it was said, to amuse the great ones of the Court in those vain Divertisements; there being nothing which more dissipates the powers of the spirit, nor which is more capable, if we may speak so, to dissolve the forces of the soul, then the ravishing sound of Violins, the continual agitation of the body, and Charms of Ladies. After the Examples of the Court, Dances, and Maskes, reigned in all the Realm: Nor could the Remonstrances of the Ministers hinder these Dances among the greatest part of the *Hugonot*

Dances & Feasts in the Courts of the two Kings. Blaise de Monluc. *Mareshal of* France, *who writ in these times, says in his* Memoires, *That whatever affair there were of force, the Dancing was still to go forward.*

Part I.

not Lords, though there were ſtill ſome who could not ſuffer it.

1587. An Army of *German* Proteſtants enter *France*.

In the Spring, ſome Enterpriſes began, both on one part and the other; but they were nothing in compariſon of what was done towards the end of the Summer. The Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* ſent an Army to the aſſiſtance of the *Hugonots*, conſiſting of Five thouſand *Lanſquenets* or *German* Foot, Sixteen thouſand *Switzers*, and Six thouſand *Reiſtres* or *German* Horſe. They traverſed *Lorraine* and *Champagne*, afterwards paſſed the *Seine*, and marched towards the *Loire*, as if they would have have paſſed it, or coaſt along it in their re-advancing. At the ſame time the King of *Navarre* had gathered his Forces towards *Rochel*, and endeavoured to come to meet them unto the Banks of the *Loire*; but he was hindred by an Army of the Kings, commanded by the Duke of *Joyeuſe*, who had order diligently to purſue him. The Duke of *Guiſe* having likewiſe gathered the Forces of his Party; and though they were very ſmall, followed ſometimes the *German* Horſe, ſometimes coaſted them, and oftentimes mixed himſelf amongſt them without any great danger; ſo much the rather, becauſe this too weighty body of ſtrangers could not eaſily move, being troubled with a great baggage, not having a Chief either of any great Credit, or ſufficiently intelligent to Conduct; and all its Captains being in diſcord and bad intelligence one with the other.

It is followed by the Duke of *Guiſe*.

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By reason of all these defaults, this Army could never take any good Resolution. The *Loire* was fordable in many places; for it was about the end of *September*: but nevertheless they would not pass it, but came to spread themselves in the *Campagnes* of *Beaustre*, expecting News from the King of *Navarre* instead of advancing amongst the *Nivernois*, and gaining *Burgongne*. The intention of the King of *Navarre*, was to advance along *Dordogna*, and from thence enter into *Guyenne*; and after having gathered together all his Forces, to meet the Protestant Army in *Burgongne*, by the favour of those Provinces were his friends. But the Duke of *Joyeuse* obstinately pursued him; imagining he fled, because in effect he avoided fighting, having no other end then a Conjunction with the *Germans*.

Part II.

It doth nothing to purpose.

The King of *Navarre* would joyn with them, but the Duke of *Joyeuse* makes head against him with an Army.

This new Duke was much declined in his favour with the King, who had received advice that he inclined much to the League, not that he loved the *Guises*, but because he had permitted it to be put into his head by his Flatterers, that he deserved to be Chief of that great Party; and he held the destruction of the *Hugonots* so certain, that he had obtained from the Pope the Confiscation of all the Soveraign Territories of our *Henry*. Desiring therefore to sustain his Reputation and Favour, which were then tottering, he pursued him so closely, that he overtook him near to *Coutras*.

The Duke overtakes him near *Coutras*.

The Army of *Joyeuse* was, as one may say,

What the Army of *Joyeuse* was.

Part I. all of Gold, shining with Silver and Gold Laces; with Damasked Arms; with Feathers in great Plumes; with Embroidered Scarfs; with Velvet Coats, with which every Lord, according to the Mode of the times, had furnished his Companies: but the Army of the King of *Navarre*, was all of Iron, having no other then Grizled Arms, without any Ornament, with great Belts of Buff, and labouring Habits. The first had the advantage in number, having six hundred Horse, and a thousand Foot, more then the other; the half of its Infantry, Dragoons; its Cavalry almost all Lances, and most mounted on managed Horses: it had besides for it, the Name and Authority of the King, and assurance of Rewards; but the better half of it was composed of new Troops, which wanted Order and Discipline: It had a General without Authority; an hundred Chiefs instead of one; and all young people, elevated in the Delights of the Court; having sufficient Heart and Courage, but without any Experience.

What that of the King.

The other on the contrary was composed of all the choice men of its Party: the old remnant of the Battels of *Jarnac* and *Montcontour*; people bred up in the Mystery of War, and hardned by the continual endurance of Fights and Adversities. It had at its Head, three Princes of the Blood, the Chief of them well obeyed and reverenced as the presumptive Heir of the Crown, the love of the Souldiery, and hope of all good *French*-men: besides, it

was

was armed with a neceſſity either to overcome or dye; Armour of more proof then either Steel or Braſs. Part I.

Orders being given, the King of *Navarre* called all his Chiefs; and from a little riſing ground, exhorted them in few words, but ſuch as were agreeable both to his Quality and the time; taking Heaven to witneſs, that he fought not againſt his King, but for the Defence of his Religion and Right. Afterwards addreſſing himſelf to the two Princes of the Blood, *Conde* and *Soiſſons*, *I ſhall ſay nothing elſe to you*, ſaid he, *but that you are of the houſe of* Bourbon; *and if God live, I will now ſhew you that I am worthy to be the firſt-born of that Family.* His Exhortation to his Army, and to the Princes of the Blood.

His Valour that day appeared above that of all others. He had placed on his Head-piece a Plume of white Feathers, both to make himſelf known, and becauſe he loved that colour: ſo that ſome putting themſelves before him, out of deſign to ſhelter and defend his perſon, he cryed out to them, *To your Quarter, I pray you, and do not ſhadow me; for I would appear.* His Valour and Bravery.

"A Bravery without doubt abſolutely neceſſa-
"ry for a Conquerour, but which would be
"temerity and an unſupportable fault in a
"Prince well eſtabliſhed. He broke the firſt ranks of the Enemy, and took Priſoners with his own hand, and came even to handy-gripes with one named *Chaſteau-Reynard*, Cornet of a Company of *Gens d'Armes*, ſaying to him, *Deliver thy Colours.*

Part I. The Battel being gained, some having seen the Flyers, who made a halt, came to tell him, that the Army of the Mareshal of *Matignon* appeared: he received this News as a new subject of Glory; and turning bravely towards his people, *Let us go, my Friends*, said he, *this will be a thing never before seen, two Battels in one day.*

It was not only his Valour made him worthy to be admired in this occasion; it was likewise his Justice, Moderation, and Clemency: for his Justice, we may recount what follows.

An Action of great Justice, & Christian Humility.

He had debauched the Daughter of an Officer of *Rochel*, a thing which had dishonoured that Family, and very much scandalized him among the *Rochellers*. A Minister, as the Squadrons were almost ready to go to the Charge, and that the Prayer was to be made, took the Liberty to remonstrate to him, That God could not favour his Arms, if he did not before demand pardon for that offence, repair the scandal by a publick satisfaction, and restore Honour to a Family he had deprived of it. The good King humbly hearkened to these Remonstrances, fell upon his Knees, demanded of God pardon for his fault; prayed all those who were present to serve as witnesses of his repentance; and to assure the Father of the Maiden, that if God gave him the grace to live, he would repair as much as possible the Honour he had deprived her of. So Christian a submission, drew tears from all the Assistants:

nor

nor was there any who would not have ventured a thousand Lives for a Prince who so cordially inclined himself to do Reason to his Inferiours. Part I.

Having thus overcome himself, God made him Conquerour over his Enemies: and who knows but that he exalted him, because he so Christianly humbled himself? The Enemies Army was wholly defeated, with the loss of five thousand men: all their Cannon, Baggage, Ensigns, and all their chief Commanders, were taken Prisoners, except two or three among whom were the Duke of *Joyeuse*, and of St. *Saviour* his Brother, who were found dead on the place.

The Battel of *Contras*, which he gains.

Joyeuse slain.

That night, our Conquerour finding his Lodgings full of Prisoners and wounded persons of the Enemy, was constrained to cause his Bed to be carried to those of *Plessis Mornay*: but the body of *Joyeuse* being laid forth on the Table in the Hall, he was there forced to mount on high; and there, while he supt, were presented unto him the Prisoners, fifty six foot-Ensigns, and twenty two Standards and Cornets.

It was a fair and glorious Spectacle for this Prince, to have under his feet that Enemy, who had obtained from the Pope the Confiscation of his Territories; to see his Table environed with so many Noble Captains, and his Chamber tapistred with Ensigns. But to speak truth, it was much more agreeable to generous Souls, to see, that amongst so many sub-

Part I. jects of Vanity and Pride; and in ſo juſt reſentments of thoſe bloody injuries done him, (things which often tranſport the ſweeteſt ſouls to inſolence and cruelty) there could not be obſerved either in his words or countenance, the leaſt ſign that might breed any ſuſpicion that either his Conſtancy or Goodneſs were ever ſo little altered: but on the contrary, ſhewing himſelf as Courteous and Humane in his Victory, as he had ſhewed himſelf brave and redoubtable in fight; he ſent back almoſt all the Priſoners without ranſom, reſtored their bagage to many, took great care of the wounded, and gave the body of *Joyeuſe* and *S. Sauveur* to the Viſcount *de Turenne*, who was their Kinſman; and diſpatched the next morning his Maſter of Requeſts to the King, to intreat Peace of him: from whence it was judged, that ſo great a Courage would overcome all its Enemies, and that nothing would be capable to renverſe his Fortune, whom ſo great a proſperity was not able to move.

His moderation and admirable Clemency in his Victory.

He purſues it not, and wherefore.

He was however blamed, for not having hotly purſued his Victory, and for having permitted that Triumphant Army to break by, not again imploying them in ſome great Exploit. It was believed, and there was much appearance for it, that he would not preſs things too forward, for fear of too much offending the King, with whom he deſired yet to keep ſome meaſures; hoping daily that he might reconcile himſelf to him, and return

turn to Court, where it was neceſſary he ſhould be; that he might be in a condition to take the Crown, when *Henry* III. ſhould dye. In fine, were it for this reaſon, or other, he retired into *Gaſcoigne*, and from thence into *Bearne*, under pretext of ſome affairs; carrying with him only Five hundred Horſe, and the Count of *Soiſſons*, whom he kept near him, out of hopes to make him eſpouſe his Siſter. The Prince of *Conde* returned to *Rochel*, and *Turenne* to *Perigord*. Part I.

In the mean time, that great Army of *Germans* having received many checks in ſeveral places, but eſpecially at *Auneau* in *Beauſſe*, where the Duke of *Guiſe* ſlew or took Priſoners Three thouſand *Reiſtres*; afterward at *Pont de Gien*, where the Duke *d'Eſpernon* took Twelve hundred *Lanſquenets* or Foot, and almoſt all the Cannon; willingly hearkened to an agreement, which the King cauſed to be propoſed to them: and afterwards retired by *Burgongne*, and by the County of *Montbeliard*, but were ſtill purſued farther in that Country, by the Duke of *Guiſe*. Defeat of the *German* horſe. The reſt of that Army retire.

1588. Now began the year One thouſand five hundred eighty eight; which all Judicial Aſtrologers had called the wonderful year, becauſe they foreſaw ſo great a number of ſtrange accidents, and ſuch confuſion in natural cauſes, that they were aſſured, that if the end of the World came not, there would happen at leaſt an Univerſal Change. Prognoſtications of the evils of the year 1588

Their Prognosticks were seconded by a number of terrible Prodigies which arrived throughout all *Europe*. In *France* there were great Earth-quakes, along the River *Loire*, and likewise in *Normandy*. The Sea was for six weeks together disturbed with continual Tempests, which seemed to confound both Heaven and Earth. In the Air appeared divers Phantasmes of fire; and on the four and twentieth of *January*, *Paris* was covered with so horrible a darkness, that those who had the best eyes, could scarce see any thing at noonday, without the help of lights. All these Prodigies seemed to signifie what soon after arrived, the death of the Prince of *Conde*, the Besieging of *Paris*, the Subversion of the whole Realm, the Murthering of *Messieurs de Guise*, and in fine the *Parricide* of *Henry* the Third.

Death of the Prince of *Conde*.

As for the Prince of *Conde*, he dyed in the month of *March*, at *S. Jean d'Angeli*, where he then made his residence. Though there had been a secret jealousie between him and the King of *Navarre*, even to the making of two Factions in their Party; yet the King resented this loss with an extreme grief; and having shut himself up in his Closet, with the *Count de Soissons*, he was heard to cast forth great crys, and say that he had lost his right hand: However, after his grief was a little evaporated, he recovered his Spirit; and casting all his trust on Divine Protection, he came forth, saying with a heart full of Chri-

The King of *Navarre* much afflicted.

But in his affliction puts his trust in God.

stian

ſtian aſſurance: *God is my refuge and my ſupport, it is in him alone I will hope, and I ſhall not be confounded.* Part I.

It was truly a great loſs for him: he was now alone to ſupport all the weight of affairs; and being denuded of this Aſſiſter, remained more expoſed to the attempts of the League, who had now only to give a like blow to his perſon, to remain Conquerours in all their affairs. He had therefore juſt cauſe to fear their attempts: However, the Duke of *Guiſe* had a heart ſo Noble and great, that whilſt he lived, he would never ſuffer ſuch deteſtable ways.

The Confidence of the League increaſed wonderfully, by the death of this Prince; they teſtified extraordinary rejoycings, and publiſhed that it was an effect of the Juſtice of God, and of the Apoſtolick curſes. The *Hugonots* on the contrary, were in an extreme Conſternation, conſidering that they had loſt in him their moſt aſſured Chief, becauſe they believed him firmly perſwaded in their Religion, but had not the ſame opinion of the King of *Navarre*. In effect, the Confuſion and Diſorder was ſo great amongſt them, that in all appearance, had they continued ſtrongly to proſecute them, they might have ſoon ruined them. The King hated them mortally, and would willingly have conſented; but he would manage things in ſuch manner, that their deſtruction ſhould not prove the aggrandizing of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and his own loſs: but this

The League rejoyce.

The *Hugonots* afflicted.

Sentiments of *Henry* III.

Duke

Part I. Duke knowing his intentions, preſſed him continually to give him Forces utterly to exterminate the *Hugonots*, in whoſe ruine he infallibly hoped to involve the King of *Navarre*.

The Duke of *Guiſe* preſſeth him to give him Forces to exterminate the *Hugonots*.

He had this advantage over the King, that he had acquiſted the love of the people, principally by two means; the firſt, by his oppoſing himſelf to the new Impoſts; and the ſecond, by continually being at variance with the Favorites, nor ever bending before them: whilſt the doing of things contrary, had made the King fall into an extreme low Eſteem, and had likewiſe taken away the heat of ſome of his ſervants love. See here an Example.

The Duke of *Guiſe* much loved, and *Henry* III. much hated.

The King had two great Men in his Council, *Pierre d'Eſpinac* Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, and *Villeroy* Secretary of State: The Duke *d'Eſpernon*, who was fierce and haughty, would treat them according to his proud humour; they grew exaſperated againſt him, and thereupon change their affection to the Duke of *Guiſe* his party, but without doubt ſtill in their hearts remaining moſt faithful to the King and Crown of *France*, as afterward well appeared, eſpecially in the perſon of *Villeroy*.

D'Eſpernon and *Villeroy* become friends to the Duke of *Guiſe*, and why.

In the mean time, the King lived after the ordinary manner, in the profuſions of an odious Luxury, and in the lazineſs of a contemptible Retreat; paſſing his time either in ſeeing Dances, or in playing with little Dogs, of which he had great numbers of all ſorts;

The ill Conduct of *Henry* the Third.

or

or else in Teaching Parriquito's to speak, or in Cutting of Images, or in other Occupations more becoming an Infant then a King. Part I.

But the Duke of *Guise* lost no time: he made daily new friends, conserved his old ones, caressed the people, testified a great zeal for the Ecclesiasticks, undertook their defence against all would oppress them; and every where appeared with the Splendor and Gravity of a Prince, but yet without Pride, without Arrogancy: The *Parisians* were intoxicated with esteem for him; the greatest part of the Parliament, and most part of the other Officers attended his motions, and testified to him the affection they ought to the service of the King. The Conduct and imploys of the Duke of *Guise*.

There were an infinite number of people who had signed the League: and in the sixteen Quarters or Wards of *Paris*, when they could not gain the Quarteniers or Alder-men, they chose one the most violent of the Leaguers to act in their function; by reason of which, they afterwards called at *Paris* the Principal of this Party, and their Faction, *the sixteen*: not that they were but *sixteen*, for their number exceeded Ten thousand, but all dispersed through the sixteen Quarters. What the *Sixteen* were.

Now the King, principally incited by the Duke *d'Espernon*, resolved to punish the forwardest of these *sixteen*, who in all occasions shewed themselves furious Enemies of that Favourite. By this means he thought to The King would punish them.

overthrow

Part I. overthrow the League, and absolutely ruine the Credit and Reputation of the Duke of *Guise*. He caused therefore some Troops secretly to enter into *Paris*, and gave order to seize on those persons.

The Duke of *Guise* haſtes to defend them.

The Duke of *Guise* being advised of it, posts from *Soissons*, where he then was, resolving to perish rather then lose his friends. Barricadoes were raised in the month of *May*, even to the Gates of the *Louvre*, and the Kings Troops were all cut in pieces or disarmed. The Queen-Mother, according to her ordinary custom, became Mediatrix of an Accommodation; but the King fearing to be inclosed, in a fright retires to *Chartres*.

The King retires to *Chartres*. The league becomes Mistress of *Paris*.

The League by this becoming Mistress of *Paris*, took possession of the *Bastille*, the *Hostel de Ville*, and the *Temple*; hang the Provost of the Merchants, and the Civil Lieutenant. And at the same time they assured themselves of *Orleans*, *Bourges*, *Amiens*, *Abbeville*, *Montreuil*, *Rouen*, *Rheims*, *Chaalons*, and more then twenty other Cities in several Provinces; the people every where crying, *Long live* Guise, *Long live the Protector of the Faith.*

The *Parisians* send Deputies to the King.

The King, not without much reason, was extremely affrighted. The *Parisians* deputed some to him to *Chartres*, to ask pardon: but withal, they demand the extirpation of Heresie. All the World increased his fears, none fortified his Courage. In this distress he knew no securer way to shun that danger which threatned him, then by essaying to disarm his sub-

Subjects. To this effect he ſends one of his Maſters of the Requeſts to the Parliament, to let them underſtand, that his abſolute intention was to forget all that was paſt; ſo that every one returned to his Duty, and to labour diligently for the Reformation of the Kingdom: for which end, he found it convenient to aſſemble the General Eſtates at the end of the year, where they might provide for the aſſuring a Catholick Succeſſor of the Blood-Royal; proteſting, that he would obſerve inviolably all the Reſolutions of the Eſtates, but that he would have them free, and without Faction, and that from that day all his Subjects ſhould lay down Arms.

Part I. The King pardons all; ſo they lay down Arms.

It much troubled the Duke of *Guiſe* to conſent to the laying down Arms; fearing leſt when he was left defenceleſs, he ſhould remain at the mercy of his Enemies, and particularly of the Duke *d'Eſpernon*. He therefore ſtirred up the *Pariſians* by a famous Deputation, to demand the continuation of the War againſt the *Hugonots*, and the expulſion of that Duke. The King, after ſome reſiſtance, granted both the one and the other: for he cauſed to be ratified in Parliament an Edict moſt advantagiouſly favourable for the League, and moſt bloody againſt the *Hugonots*; and he bid Adieu to the Duke *d'Eſpernon*, who retired into his Government of *Angoumois*.

The Duke of *Guiſe* demands the expulſion of *Eſpernon*; which is in the end granted.

After this, the Duke of *Guiſe* came to attend the King at *Chartres*, having the Queen-Mothers

And after comes to the Court at *Chartres*

Part I.

mothers word for his Security; and both gave great assurances of his fidelity, and received all the testimonies he could wish, of the affection of the King; insomuch that he made him great Master of the *Gens d'Armes* of *France*.

In the mean time the League gained the upper hand throughout all the Provinces on this side the *Loire*, and caused Deputies for the Estates to be elected at his pleasure. In the month of *November*, the Estates assembled in the City of *Blois*. It is not necessary here to recount all their Intrigues. In fine, the King perswading that they had conspired to dethrone him, caused the Duke of *Guise*, and the Cardinal his Brother, to be slain in the Castle; and kept Prisoner the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Archbishop of *Lyons*, the Prince of *Jointville*, who after the Death of his Father was called Duke of *Guise*, and the Duke of *Nemours* Brother by the Mother to the first Duke.

The Estates of *Blois*.

The death of the *Guises*.

The Queen-Mother, under whose word the *Guises* thought to have been in security, was so touched with the reproaches made her, and with the slightings of the King her Son, who after this, believed he had no more need of her, that she dyed with grief and envy few days after, lamented by no person, not so much as by her Son, and generally hated by all parties.

Death of Queen *Katherine de Medices*

In truth, if ever there were an Action ambiguous or problematical, it was this. The servants of the King said that he was constrained to it by the extreme audacity of the *Guises*;

Different Judgements concerning the death of the *Guises*.

and

and that if he had not prevented them, they had ſhaved him, and ſhut him up in a Monaſtery. But the ill repute he had among all men, the general eſteem theſe Princes had acquiſted, and the odious circumſtances of the murther, made it appear horrible even to the eyes of the very *Hugonots*, who ſaid, that this much reſembled the bloody Maſſacre of St. *Bartholomew*. Part I.

Our *Henry* conſerved a wiſe mediocrity in this rencounter: he deplored their death, and gave praiſes to their Valour: but he ſaid, That certainly the King had very puiſſant motives to treat them in that manner: and for the reſt, that the Judgments of God were great, and his Grace thrice-ſpecial towards him, having revenged him of his Enemies, and neither engaged his Conſcience nor his hand in it. For certain Gentlemen having often offered themſelves to him, with a determinate reſolution to go kill the Duke of *Guiſe*, he had always let them know, that he abhorred ſuch a Propoſition; and that he would neither eſteem them his friends, nor honeſt men, if they conſerved it in their thoughts. Our *Henry* ſpeaks very wiſely.

His Council being aſſembled upon this great News, found, that he ought not for it make any change in the conduct of his affairs, becauſe the King, though himſelf might be willing to it, durſt not for ſome months ſpeak of a Peace with him, for fear leſt he ſhould make it be believed that he had ſlain the *Guiſes* to favour the *Hugonots*; ſo that he continued the War, and kept ſeveral places. He changeth not his Conduct.

In

Part I.

In the mean time, the progreſs of Affairs beat him out a path to lead him to the heart of the Kingdom, and return him to the Court, which was the poſt he ought moſt to wiſh for.

1589. *Henry* III. amuſing himſelf too much at *Blois*, the league is re-aſſured, and grows furious.

Henry the Third, amuſing himſelf after the Murther of the *Guiſes*, to examine the Acts of the Eſtates at *Blois*, inſtead of mounting preſently to Horſe, and ſhewing himſelf in thoſe places where his preſence was moſt neceſſary; the League, which at firſt had been aſtoniſhed at ſo great a blow, regained its ſpirits. The great Cities, and principally *Paris*, who were poſſeſſed with this madneſs, having had leiſure to diſſipate their amazement, paſſed from fear to pity, and from pity to fury. The *Sixteen* choſe at *Paris* the Duke of *Aumarle* for their Governour. The Preachers and Church-men declaimed horribly againſt the King; the people ſnatched down his Arms where-ever they found them, and dragged them through the dirt. The Parliament, who would have oppoſed this rage, were impriſoned in the *Baſtille* by *Buſſy le Clerc*, a ſimple Proctor, but very much eſteemed among the *Sixteen*; and were forced, to regain their Liberty, to ſwear to the League. At their coming forth of the *Baſtille*, there were many who continued to hold the Parliament at *Paris*; the others ſtole away by little and little, and went to the King, who tranſported the Parliament to *Tours*, where they kept their Seſſions until the reducement of *Paris*, in the year fifteen hundred

The Parliament impriſoned in the *Baſtille* by *Buſſy le Clerc*; forced to ſwear to the League.

A part remains at *Paris*, and the others go to the King, who tranſfers all to *Tours*.

dred ninety four. These without doubt testified most fidelity to their King; but those who remained at *Paris*, rendred him afterwards much greater service, as shall be observed in its place. Part I.

The Widow of the Duke of *Guise* presented her request to these, to take information of the Death of her Husband; and demanded of the Commissaries, that process might be made against those should be found convicted of it. She received favourable Conclusions from the Proctor-General; and they proceeded very far on this subject, even against the person of *Henry* III. but I cannot say to what point, because the Papers were taken from the Registers of Parliament, when *Henry* the Great re-entred into *Paris*. Those of the Parliament remaining at *Paris*, make process against *Henry* III.

"We cannot sufficiently detest like Revolts "against a Soveraign: but these Examples "ought to make him know, that though he "holds his power from on high, yet the obe- "dience depends on the Capricio of the peo- "ple, and that he ought so to carry himself as "not to attract their hatred; otherwise, since "men have the imprudence to blaspheme "God, why may they not have it to revolt "against Kings? An excellent reflection for Kings.

Whilst these things were acting, *Henry* the Third understood that Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth had excommunicated him for the Murder of Cardinal *de Guise*. This great fire in a little time flamed quite through *France*. The Duke of *Mayenne*, who was at *Lyons* making War against *Henry* III. excommunicated by Pope *Sixtus* V. The Duke of *Mayenne* assists

Part I. himself of *Burgongne* & *Champagne*, and comes to *Paris*.

against the *Hugonots*, being advertised by a Courtier from *Roisseau* his Secretary, (who prevented the Kings) departing from that City, came into his own Government of *Burgongne*, assured himself of *Dijon* and of *Provinces*; and thence passed into *Champagne*, who stretched out their Arms to him; after to *Orleans*, which was already revolted; and so *Chartres*, whom his approaches made likewise rise: and in the end he came to *Paris*. The *Sixteen*, and many of his friends, would have advised him to have taken the Title of *King*, which they would have caused to be given him by the Council which the League had established: but he refused, contenting himself with the Title of *Lord General of the Estate and Crown of France*; which he took, as if the Throne had been vacant. They likewise broke the Seals of the King, and made others, whereon on one side was engraven the Arms of *France*; and on the other, a Throne empty; and for inscription about it, the Name and Quality of the Duke of *Mayenne* in this manner; Charles *Duke of* Mayenne, *Lieutenant of the Estate and Crown of* France.

He takes the quality of Lieutenant-General of the Estate and Crown of *France*: they likewise break the Kings Seals.

All *France* took part in this occasion; and almost all the Cities and Provinces of the Realm ranged themselves on the Duke of *Mayenne*'s side. The King, fearful that he should be shut up in *Blois*, retired to *Tours*. There now rested only one way for him to defend himself against so many dangers as were ready to environ him; and this was, to call to his assistance

Henry III. for fear, retires to *Tours*.

assistance the King of *Navarre*, who had five or six thousand men, old Souldiers, by whom he was well-beloved. Yet he durst not do it, for fear to be esteemed a Favourer of Hereticks, or incur the blame of violating those Edicts against the *Hugonots* he had so solemnly sworn to in the Estates of *Blois*. He tryed therefore all sorts of ways to appease the resentment of the Duke of *Mayenne*; offering him very advantagious Conditions. But what assurance, said the *Leaguers*, can this Duke have, his Brothers being murthered in so perfidious a manner? So that he not hearkening to any Propolition of Accommodation, *Henry* III. was constrained to turn his thoughts toward the King of *Navarre*.

Part I.

He in vain endeavors to appease the Duke of *Mayenne*

He in the end calls the King of *Navarre* and gives him *Saumur*.

This Prince above all things would have a passage over the River *Loire*: the City of *Saumur* was given to him, where he establish-ed Governour *Plessis Mornay*, who fortified the Castle, and made it the Head of the *Hugonot*-Garrisons. Being afterwards from thence approached *Tours*, his old Captains kept him for some time in distrust, and hindred him from going to see the King, whom they fear-ed (they said) lest in a time wherein a Treason was so necessary for him, to draw him out of that Labyrinth wherein the Action of *Blois* had involved him, he should buy his Absolu-tion at the price of the King of *Navarre*'s Life.

The King pe swa-ded by his friends not to trust him.

The Duke *d'Espernon*, who was returned to Court to serve his Master at his need, and

Part I. the Mareſhal *d'Aumont*, would have engaged him to it, and given him their words: but his friends could not conſent that he ſhould expoſe himſelf to the Faith of a Prince, who as they believed, had not any. In truth their fears were juſt, and our *Henry* was without doubt poſſeſſed with them as well as they: However, after he had well conſidered that he acted now for the ſafety of *France*, for the ſervice of the King, and to open to himſelf a way to defend that Crown appertained to him, he reſolved to hazard all, and to reſign himſelf abſolutely to the holy Guard of the ſoveraign Protector of Kings.

Yet he reſolves to go, arrive what will:

The City of *Tours* is ſituated as it were in an Iſland, a little below the place where the River *Cher* mingles its Streams with the *Loire*, having coaſted that great River three or four Leagues. The King of *Navarre*'s people would not that he ſhould engage himſelf between theſe Rivers, but that the Conference ſhould be held beyond the *Cher*. He almoſt alone was of opinion contrary to them all; nevertheleſs to content them, he was conſtrained to hold a Council on the Banks, and after to permit his Captains to paſs firſt, as if to ſound the Ford. He paſſed after them, and arrived at *Pleſſis les Tours*, about three a Clock in the Afternoon, in a War-like Habit, all dirty, ready to be covered with his Cuiraſs; himſelf only having a Cloak, all his people being in their Doublets, and ready to put on their Arms, that he might ſhew he was

to which purpoſe he paſſes the River *Cher*.

not

not come to compose his Court, but to serve him well. Part I.

He went to meet the King, who heard Vespers at the Minimes. The crowd of the people was so great, that they were a long time before they could joyn. Our *Henry* being within three paces of the King, cast himself at his feet, endeavouring to kiss them; but the King would not permit him, but lifting him up, embraced him with great tenderness: they reiterated their embraces three or four times, the King naming him his Thrice-dear Brother, and he calling him his Lord. There were now heard Eccho the joyful Crys of *Vive le Roy*, which had for a long time been silent; as if the presence of our *Henry* had given a new Birth to the peoples affections, which seemed extinct for *Henry* III.

His Interview with the King at *Tours*.

After the two Kings had for some time entertained each other, our *Henry* passed the River, and went to lodge at the Suburb of St. *Simphorien*: for he had been obliged to promise thus much to the old *Hugonots*, who believed snares and traps every where laid for him. But he who was pricked forward by other motives, & who was endowed with that generous Principle, "That we ought not be "too sparing of our lives when there is some-"thing to be gained, which ought to be more "precious then life it self to a great Courage, departed the next morning at six of the Clock, without advertising his people; and attended only by one Page, passing the

He repasses the River, and lies in the Faubourg,

but on the morrow visits the King alone.

Part I. Bridge, went to give a Visit to the King. They entertained one another a long time in two or three Conferences; in which our *Henry* gave great marks of his Capacity and Judgment. Their Resolution in sum, was to raise a puissant Army to assault *Paris*, which was the principal head of the *Hydra*, and gave motion to all the rest: a thing easie for them to do, because the King expected great Levies from towards the *Switzers*, whither he had sent *Sancy* for that purpose; adding, that the design of the Siege being published, it would infallibly draw a great number of Souldiers and Adventurers, out of hopes of so rich a pillage.

They resolve to besiege *Paris*.

The two Kings having passed two days together, he of *Navarre* went to *Chinon*, to cause the rest of his Troops to advance, who hitherto had refused to mingle themselves among the Catholicks.

During his absence, the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had taken the Field, fell upon the Suburbs of *Tours*, thinking to surprize the City, and the King within it, by means of some Intelligence. The Combate was very bloody, and the Dukes design wanted little of taking effect; but after the first endeavours, having lost the hopes to compass it, he easily retired.

Duke of *Mayenne* wants little to surprize King *Henry* III. at *Tours*.

Afterwards the Kings Troops being wonderfully increased, they marched conjoyntly, he and the King of *Navarre* towards *Orleans*; took all the little places thereabouts, and from thence descended into *Beauce*, and drew together

together all of a ſudden towards *Paris*. All the Poſts round about it, as *Poiſſy*, *Eſtampes*, and *Meulan*, were either forced, or obtained Capitulation: "in which they deſired no other ſe- "curity then the word of the King of *Navarre*; "to which they truſted more then to all the "Writings of *Henry* III. So great a profeſſi- "on made he of keeping his word, even to the "prejudice of his Intereſts. Part I.

Let us conſider a little the different Eſtate to which theſe two Kings were reduced by their different Conduct. "The One, for ha- "ving often broken his Faith, was abandoned "by his Subjects, and his greateſt Oaths found "no belief amongſt them: and the Other, for "having always exactly kept it, was followed "even by his greateſt Enemies: in all occaſi- "ons he gave marks of his Valour and Expe- "rience in point of War; but above all, of his "Prudence, and of thoſe Noble Inclinations "he had to good, and to oblige all the World. "He was always ſeen in the moſt dangerous "places, to accelerate Labours, animate his "Souldiers, ſuſtain them in Sallies, comfort "the wounded, and cauſe Money to be diſtri- "buted amongſt them. He obſerved all, in- "quired into all, and would himſelf with the "Mareſhal of the Camp, order the Lodgings "of his Souldiers. He obſerved ſtrictly what "was done in the Army of *Henry* III. where "though he often found faults, he concealed "them, out of fear to offend thoſe who had "committed them, by diſcovering their igno- "rance;

Great and profitable Reflections made on the different Conducts of *Hen.* 3. and the King of *Navarre*.

Part I.

"rance: and when he believed himself obliged to take notice of them, he did it with so "much circumspection, that they could not "find any reason to take it in ill part. He was "never niggardly of giving praises due to Noble Actions, nor of Caresses and generous "Deport to those came near him: he entertained himself with them when he had time "to do it; or at least so obliged them with "some good word, that they still went away "satisfied. He feared not at all to make himself familiar, because he was assured that the "more men knew him, the more they would "esteem him. In fine, the conduct of this "Prince was such, that there was no heart he "gained not, nor no friend he had who would "not willingly have become his Martyr.

Paris besieged.

Paris was already besieged; the King lodged at St. *Clou*, and our *Henry* at *Meudon*, keeping with his Troops all that is between *Vanvres* to the Bridge of *Charenton*. *Sancy* was already arrived with his Levies of *Suisses*, and they laboured with Orders to give a general Assault, to the end they might gain the Suburbs beneath the River. The Duke of *Mayenne*, who was in the City with his Troops, expecting those Supplies the Duke of *Nemours* was to bring, was in great apprehensions that he should not be able to sustain the furious shock was preparing; when a young *Jacobin* of the Convent of *Paris*, named *James Clement*, spurred on by a Resolution as devilish and detestable

King *Henry* 3. killed by a *Jacobin*.

teſtable as it was determinate, ſmote King *Henry* III. with a blow of a knife in the Belly, of which he dyed the morrow after. If the frantick Monk had not been ſlain upon the place by the Kings Guards, many things might have been known, which are now concealed. Part I.

Our *Henry* being advertiſed late in the Evening of this mournful Accident, and of the danger in which the King was, came to his Lodging, accompanied only by five and twenty or thirty Gentlemen; and being arrived a little before he expired, he fell on his knees to kiſs his hands, and received his laſt Embraces. The King named him many times his Good Brother, and Legitimate Succeſſour; recommended the Kingdom to him; exhorted the Lords there preſent to acknowledge him, and not to diſunite. In fine, after having conjured him to embrace the Catholick Religion, he gave up the Ghoſt; leaving all his Army in an aſtoniſhment and confuſion which cannot be expreſſed, and all the Chiefs and Captains in Irreſolutions and different Agitations, according to their Humours, Fancies, or Intereſts.

Our *Henry* comes to viſit him dying.

What the King ſaid to him, and thoſe preſent.

THE

THE SECOND PART OF THE LIFE OF HENRY the Great:

Containing what he did, from the day he came to the Crown of *France*, until the Peace which was made in the year 1598. by the Treaty at *Vervin*.

1589. Change caused by the Death of *Hen.* 3.

THE Death of *Henry* III. caused an entire Change in the face of Affairs. *Paris*, the *League*, and the Duke of *Mayenne*, were transported from a profound Sadness, to a furious Joy, and the Servants of the Defunct King, from a Pregnant Hope to see him Revenged, to an extreme Desolation.

This Prince, who had been the object of the peoples hatred, being now no more, it seemed that that hatred should cease, and by conse-

conſequence the heat of the League relent: but on the contrary, not only all thoſe who compoſed that Faction, but likewiſe many others who had held it for a Crime to league themſelves againſt *Henry* the Third, their *Catholick* and Legitimate King, believed themſelves in Conſcience Obliged to oppoſe themſelves againſt our *Henry*, at leaſt till ſuch time as he ſhould return into the boſom of the true Church: a qualification they believed abſolutely neceſſary for that him ſhould ſucceed *Charlemagne* or *S. Lewis*. So that if the League loſt that heat which hatred gave it, it gained one much more ſpecious, from a zeal to Religion; and had likewiſe a moſt plauſible pretext not to lay down Arms till *Henry* ſhould profeſs the Religion of his Anceſtors. Part II.

Problem, if *Henry* 3. dyed in a time favourable to *Henry* 4. or not.

It was very difficult to judge, whether the point of time wherein this unhappy Parricide arrived, were good or ill for him: for on one ſide it ſeemed that Providence had not drawn him from the utmoſt parts of the Kingdom, where he was like a baniſhed man, and led him by the hand to the faireſt Theatre in *France*, but only to make known his goodneſs and vertue, and put him in an eſtate to gain that Succeſſion, to which, had he been abſent, he had never been called. But on the other ſide, when the multitude of his puiſſant Enemies, which armed themſelves againſt him, are conſidered, the ſmall Treaſure, and few Forces he had, the Obſtacle of his Religion, and

Part II. and a thouſand other difficulties, it could not be certainly judged, whether the Crown was ordained for him to enjoy, or fallen upon his head to cruſh him in pieces: and there might be reaſon to ſay, that if this Conjuncture elevated him, it was upon a Throne trembling, and erected on the brink of Precipices.

Henry IV. holds many Councils.

Whilſt *Henry* the Third was in his Agony, our *Henry* held many Tumultuary Councils in the ſame Lodgings, with thoſe whom he eſteemed his moſt faithful Servants. So ſoon as he underſtood he was expired, he retired to his Quarter at *Meudon*, and attired himſelf in the mourning Purple: he was preſently followed by a great quantity of Noble men, who accompanied him as well for Curioſity as affection. The *Hugonots* with thoſe Troops which he had led, preſently ſwore Allegiance to him: but this number was very ſmall. Some of the Catholicks, as the Mareſhal *d'Aumont*, *Givry*, and *Humieres*, ſwore Service to him until death, and that willingly, without deſiring any Condition of him; but the greateſt part of the others, being either eſtranged by inclination, or exaſperated by ſome diſcontent, or elſe believing now to have found the time to make their Services be bought, kept at a greater diſtance, and held ſeveral little Aſſemblies in divers places, where they formed a number of Fantaſtick deſigns.

Some Catholicks acknowledg him, but moſt refuſe.

Some deſign to make

Each of theſe propoſed to make themſelves

ſelves Soveraigns of ſome City, or ſome Province, as the Governours had done in the decadence of the Houſe of *Charlemagne*. The Mareſhal of *Byron* among others, would have had the County of *Perigord*; and *Sancy*, not to reject him, ſpoke to the King. This Propoſition was very dangerous: for if he denied it, he incenſed him; and if he accorded to his demand, he opened the way to all others to make the like, and ſo the Kingdom would be rent in pieces. It was only his great Spirit and Underſtanding, which could walk ſafely in ſo dangerous a path: he therefore charged *Sancy* to aſſure him on his part of his affection, of which he would willingly; in time and place, give him all the marks a good Subject could expect from his Soveraign; but at the ſame time, he furniſhed him with ſo many puiſſant reaſons wherefore he could not accord to what he deſired, that *Sancy* being himſelf firſt perſwaded, found it not difficult to work the ſame effect on the Spirit of *Byron*; whom he obliged not only to renounce that pretence, but likewiſe to proteſt that he would never ſuffer any piece of the Eſtate to be diſmembred, in favour of whomſoever.

Part II. themſelves Soveraigns. The Mareſhal of *Byron* among others; but the King made him forgo his deſire.

We may without doubt conclude, that the great *Henry* did reaſon puiſſantly; and that he explained his reaſons in the beſt manner, ſince he could in occaſions ſo important, perſwade ſuch able Spirits againſt their proper Intereſts.

Byron

Part II.

Byron and *Sancy* assure the Catholick *Swisses* to the Kings Service.

Byron being thus gained, went with *Sancy* to assure themselves of those *Swisses* which *Sancy* had brought to the deceased King, but who being of the *Catholick Cantons*, made some difficulty to bear Arms for a *Hugonot* Prince, and that without new order from their Superiour. As for the *French* Troops of the Defunct King, it was not so easie to gain them. The Lords who Commanded them, or who had their Chiefs under their dependance, had every one divers designs; one would have one thing, and the other another, according to their several Interests or Caprichio's.

What was the disposition of the Princes of the Blood towards the King.

There were six Princes of the House of *Bourbon*, to wit, the old Cardinal of *Vendosme*, the Count of *Soissons*, the Prince of *Conti*, the Duke of *Montpensieur*, and the Prince of *Dombes* his Son; which instead of being his firmest prop, gave him no little inquietude; because there was none of them which had not his particular pretence; which proved to him a continual obstacle.

Many Lords in Camp and Court ill intended.

Many of the Lords which were in the Army were not very well intentionated, particularly *Henry* Grand Prior of *France*, Natural Son to *Charles* the Ninth, (after Count of *Auvergne* and Duke of *Angoulesme*) the Duke of *Espernon*, and *Termes Belle-garde*; who out of the fear they had formerly had, lest he should deprive them of the favour of their Master, had opposed him in divers Rencounters. For the Courtiers, as *Francis d'O*, and *Manou* his Brother,

Brother, *Old-Caſtle* and many others, they knowing that our *Henry* deteſted their villanous Debaucheries, and that he would not prove a perſon of ſo ill management, as to laviſh out his Revenues to ſupply their Luxury, had no great inclination for him. Nevertheleſs, hoping to find things better, they reſolved to declare in his favour; but with ſuch Conditions as ſhould reſtrain and bridle him, and in ſome manner oblige him to depend on them. Part II.

Aſſembly of Noblemen at *d'O*'s, who would have the King converted.

For this purpoſe there met an Aſſembly of ſome Noble men, at *d'O*'s Palace (a man voluptuous, prodigal, and by conſequence not very ſcrupulous; but who at preſent made Conſcience a Cloak to render himſelf neceſſary) who there reſolved not to acknowledge him, till he were a Catholick. *Francis d'O* accompanied with ſome Noble men, had the confidence to carry to the King the Reſolutions of this Aſſembly; and added a ſtudied diſcourſe, to perſwade him to return to the Catholick Religion: but the King, who had already paſt over his greateſt fears, made them an anſwer ſo mixt with ſweetneſs and gravity, with ſpirit and reſervedneſs, that couragiouſly repulſing them, without too ſeverely taunting them, he teſtified to them that he deſired to conſerve them his, but that after all, he feared not much the loſs of them.

D'O carries him word of it.

The King anſwers them handſomly and couragiouſly.

Another greater Aſſembly reſolved to acknow-

Some time after, the Nobility, after divers little Aſſemblies, held a great one, with *Francis de Luxembourg* Duke of *Piney*. There many

Part II.

ledge him, provided he will permit himself to be instructed

many Propositions being made, at last the Dukes of *Montpensier* and *Piney* subtilly managed the Spirits, and steered the Opinions of the most importunate to this Resolution, That they would acknowledge *Henry* for King, upon these Conditions: 1. Provided that he would cause himself to be instructed; for they presupposed Conversion must necessarily follow Instruction. 2. That he should not permit the exercise of any but the *Catholick* Religion. 3. That he should neither give Charge nor Imployment to the *Hugonots*. 4. That he should permit the Assembly to depute Agents to the Pope, to let him understand, and agree to the Causes, which obliged the Nobility to remain in the Service of a Prince separated from the *Roman* Church.

The Duke of *Piney* carries their resolution to the King; who agrees to it; and grants a Declaration touching the exercise of the Catholick Religion through all his Territories.

The King had the knowledge of this Resolution, from the Duke of *Piney* who thanked them for their zeal for the Conservation of the Estate, and the affection they had for his Person; promising them, that he would sooner lose his life, then the remembrance of those good Services they had rendred him; and granting them easily all the points they demanded, only the second: Instead of which, he promised them to re-establish the exercise of the *Catholick* Religion through all his Territories, and to remit the *Ecclesiasticks* into the possession of their Estates: and of this he caused a Declaration to be ingrossed, which after all the Lords and Gentlemen of Note had

had ſigned; he ſent to be confirmed, by that part of the Parliament which was at *Tours*. Part II.

There were many who ſigned it with ſome regret, and others who abſolutely refuſed it; among whom was the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and *Lewis d'Hoſpital Vitry*. This laſt, diſturbed as it was ſaid by a ſcruple of Conſcience, caſt himſelf into *Paris*, and gave himſelf for ſome time to the League; but firſt of all, he abandoned the Government of *Dourdan*, which the Defunct King had given him. "Such were then "the Maxims of Perſons of true Honour in the "Civil Wars, that in quitting one Party, which "ever it was, they quitted likewiſe thoſe pla-"ces they held, and returned them to thoſe had "conferred them."

Many ſign it with regret, and others refuſe, as *Vitry*, who becomes a Leaguer.

The Duke *d'Eſpernon* proteſting, that he would never be either *Spaniard* or *Leaguer*, but that his Conſcience would not permit him to ſtay with the King, demanded leave of him to retire to his Government. The King after having in vain endeavoured to retain him, gave him leave, with many Careſſes and praiſes: but ſo much was he in his heart troubled at his abandoning him, that it hath been believed he conſerved againſt him a ſecret reſentment ſo long as he lived.

And the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who retires.

The Duke of *Mayenne* was not a little troubled in *Paris*, what reſolution he ſhould take: he ſaw that all the *Pariſians*, even thoſe who had held of the Party of the Defunct King, had fully reſolved to provide for the ſecurity of Religion: But that however they

The Duke of *Mayenne* troubled what party to take.

Part II. would all have a King, contrary to ſome of the *Sixteen*, who imagined they might form a Republick, and turn *France* into *Cantons*, like to the *Suiſſes*; but thoſe were neither ſufficiently powerfull in Number, Riches, or Capacity, to conduct ſuch a Deſign. So that the moſt part of his friends counſelled him to take the Title of King: but when he went about to ſound this Gulph, he found that this Propoſition was neither agreeable to the people, nor yet to the King of *Spain*, from whom he received, and was to receive his principal ſtay, and means of Subſiſtence.

Two Counſels given him.

Hereupon two other Counſels were given him: the one, to accord willingly with the new King, who without doubt in the Conjuncture wherein things were, would grant him moſt advantagious Conditions: The other, that he ſhould by Declaration publiſh to the Catholicks of the Royal Army, that all reſentments remaining extinct by the Death of *Henry* the Third, he had no other intereſt then that of Religion: That that point being of Divine obligation, and regarding all good Chriſtians: he ſummoned and conjured them to joyn with him, to exhort the King of *Navarre* to return to the Church; upon which, they promiſed to acknowledge him immediately for King: but if that he refuſed to do it, they proteſted to ſubſtitute in his place another Prince of the Blood. This advice was the beſt. And indeed it was propoſed by *Jeannin* Preſident of the Parlia-

Parliament of *Burgongne*, one of the wiſeſt and moſt Politick heads of his Council, and who acted in his affairs without Sleights or Stratagems; but with great Judgment and ſingular Honeſty. Part II.

The Duke of *Mayenne* equally rejected both theſe advices; and took a third, to wit, the cauſing the old Cardinal of *Bourbon* (who was at preſent detained Priſoner by order of our *Henry*) to be proclaimed King; ſtill reſerving to himſelf the quality of Lieutenant-General of the Crown. He publiſhed after ſeveral Declarations, one of which he ſent to the Parliament, the other to the Provinces and the Nobility, inviting them to endeavour to deliver their King, and defend their Religion. He rejects them, and cauſes to be Proclaimed the old Cardinal of *Bourbon*.

At the ſame time the King tryed by divers Negotiations, and cauſed him to be exhorted rather to ſeek his advancement by his friendſhip, then by the troubles and miſeries of *France*. But to this the Duke anſwered, that he had engaged his Father in the Publick Cauſe, and given Oath to King *Charles* the Tenth, (for ſo they called the old Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was named *Charles*) to whom, according to the ſentiment of the League, the Crown appertained, as to the neareſt Kinſman of the Defunct. And in the mean time, he entertained Plots and Conſpiracies in the Royal Army; where his Emiſſaries from day to day debauched many perſons, even of thoſe whom the King believed moſt aſſured. There were many Generous enough The King trys in vain ſeveral Treaties with the Duke.

Part II. to resist the temptations of Silver: but nothing was proof against the Intrigues of the Ladies of *Paris*, who cunningly attracted the Gentlemen and the Officers in the City, sparing nothing to engage them.

The King knowing that there daily remained some catch'd in these snares, and having just reason to fear that those which returned, tempted by their Mistresses, might bring back some pernicious designs, and the Duke of *Nemours* being upon the advance with his Troops, to joyn with the Duke of *Mayenne*; the Duke of *Lorraine* being likewise to send his; having cause to doubt his Retreat might be cut off on all sides, found it convenient to discamp from before *Paris*.

He raises his League from *Paris*, and why.

He writes to the Protestant Princes, to justifie himself.

But before he dislodged, he writ to the Protestant Princes, to give them an account of what he did, and to assure them that nothing should be capable to shake his Constancy, or separate him from Christ: and he spoke at present according to his thoughts and Conscience, not having any desire to change: which yet the Ministers of his Religion would not believe, but watched him so close on this Subject, that they became importunate.

His troubles for 4. years to content both Catholicks & *Hugonots*.

It was certainly an unspeakable trouble, which continually for three or four years he was forced to undergo; to hear on one side the exhortations of those people, and on the other, the most instant Remonstrances of the *Catholicks*: for it was necessary he should allay

lay diſtruſt of the firſt, and entertain the ſecond with continual hopes of making himſelf be inſtructed. How much prudence had he need of? how much patience? with how much Judgment and Policy muſt he manage ſuch great differences? Certainly he could not do it without imploying all the powers of his Spirit and Experience. "And he well knew "how far it was neceſſary for a Prince to have "his Spirit happily exerciſed, and to be well "inſtructed how to Negotiate, and Speak well, "to be able at his neceſſity to ſerve himſelf of "his Talent. Without falſity he might well "at preſent praiſe thoſe, who having had the "care of bringing him up, had formed him in "his youth to the Management of Affairs, to "Treating with men, and to the gaining the "affections of all the World.

Part II.

He had need of infinite prudence, addreſs, & eloquence

Thoſe laſt Devoirs he deſired to render his Predeceſſor, ſerved as a fair pretext for raiſing his Siege from before *Paris*. To put his body in a place where the reſentment of the Duke of *Guiſes* Creatures might not outrage it, he carried it to *Compeigne*, and laid it in the Abbey of St. *Cornille*, where he celebrated all the funebrous Ceremonies, as honourably as the Confuſion of the time would permit. Not able to aſſiſt himſelf, becauſe of his Religion, he committed the care to *Bellegard* and *Eſpernon*; the laſt of which accompanied him thither, and then retired into *Angoumois*.

He carries the Corps of *Henry* the Third to *S. Cornille de Compeigne*.

Part II. Three advices touching the place to which he should retire.

There were three advices given, concerning the place to which he ought to retire, when he raised his Siege from *Paris*. The first was, to repass the *Loire*, and abandon to the League all the Provinces on this side it; because he could difficultly maintain them. The second, to re-advance along the *Marne*, and seizing those Bridges and Cities, expect an assistance from the Protestant *Suisses* and *Germans* promised to come to him. And the third, to march down into *Normandy*, to assure himself of some Cities, whose Governours were not yet engaged in the League; to gather the money received for Taxes, and to joyn with the Assistance of *England*, which Queen *Elizabeth* had promised him, and which could not be long absent.

1590. He follows the last, which was to march into *Normandy*.

He concluded on the last of these advices: and so many of the Nobles who accompanied him, desiring some time to go and refresh themselves, he gave them leave. He sent a part of his Troops into *Picardy*, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Longueville*; another into *Champagne*, under that of Mareshal *d'Aumont*; and with three thousand *French* Foot, two Regiments of *Suisses*, and twelve hundred Horse only, which he kept with him, he descended into *Normandy*.

Rolet brings him the Keys of *Pont d'Arche*; and chattes of Diepe.

The Duke of *Montpensier*, who was Governour there, came to joyn him with two hundred Gentlemen, and fifteen hundred Foot. *Rolet* Governour of *Pont d'Arche*, a man of Courage and Spirit, brought him the

the Keys of that place, demanding no other recompence but the honour to ſerve him. *Emer de Chattes*, a Commandadore of *Malta*, did the ſame with thoſe of *Diepe*. After which, the King approached *Rouen*, where he believed to have ſome Intelligence. Part II.

This Enterpriſe put him in extreme danger; but in revenge, gave him a fair occaſion to acquiſt Glory, in retiring himſelf from ſo great a peril. See how it paſſed!

He would beſiege *Rouen*: but the Duke of *Mayenne* coming to its ſuccour, drives him to *Diepe*, and andinveſts him.

The Duke of *Mayenne* came to the ſuccour of *Rouen* with all his Forces, and paſſed the Rivers at *Vernon*. The King much aſtoniſhed, retires to *Diepe*, and ſends to the Duke of *Longueville* and *d'Aumont*, to return to him with diligence with their Forces. The Duke in the mean time takes all the little places about *Diepe*, to inviron and inveſt himſelf within. In effect, he ſhuts him up ſo cloſe, that if he had not amuſed himſelf by an untimely motion to go to *Bins* in *Hainault* to confer with the Duke of *Parma*, he had in that diſorder diſſipated the greateſt part of his little Army. He had already cauſed a report to be ſpread through *France*; and had writ with aſſurance to all ſtrange Princes, That he held the King of *Navarre* (ſo he called him) ſhut up in a little corner, from whence he could not get, but either by yielding himſelf to him, or leaping into the Sea. The danger appeared ſo eminent, even to his moſt faithful Ser-

The Duke reports he cannot eſcape him

Part II.

The Parliament at *Tours* counsel him to associate the Cardinal of *Bourbon* in the Royalty. Others counsel him to retire to *England*. He decides both one and the other.

vants, that the Parliament at *Tours* sent expressly to him a Master of Requests; proposing as the only Expedient they saw to save the Estate, the associating him and the Cardinal of *Bourbon* his Uncle in the Royalty; giving to one the Conduct of Civil Affairs, and the other of Martial. There were likewise the greatest part of the Captains of his Army of opinion, that leaving his Forces on shore, well intrenched in their posts, he should as soon as possible embark for *England* or for *Rochel*, for fear lest if he should longer delay it, he might be shut up by Sea as well as by Land. To the Proposition of the Parliament, he made answer, That he had taken such good order, that the Intrigues of the Duke of *Mayenne* could not deliver the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, as they apprehended; and the Marethal of *Byron* so stoutly opposed those who counselled him to embark, that they desisted.

The Duke of *Mayenne* besieges *Diepe*.

Battel of *Arques*.

It appeared soon after by the proof, that the Forces of the League, which were thrice as great his, were not to be feared in proportion to their number; and that the more Commanders they had, the less their power was to be doubted. The King was lodged at the Castle *d'Arques*, which is seated on a little Hill, to stop the passage of the Valley which goes to *Diepe*. The Duke had formed a Design to take this Post by Sea, by four or five Repriſes; and on divers days he essayed to assault the Suburbs of *Tolet*, and four or five times was driven back. Our *Henry* daily doing

doing wonders, and expoſing himſelf ſo much, that once he thought he ſhould have been ſurprized and encompaſſed by his Enemies. In fine, the Duke, having loſt eleven days time, and a thouſand or twelve hundred men, raiſed the Siege, and retired into *Picardy*. Part II.

The Duke raiſes the Siege, retires, goes into *Picardy*, and why.

It was believed, that he paſſed into this Province upon a fear, leſt the *Picards*, a free and honeſt people, but very ſimple, ſhould permit themſelves to be ſurpriſed by the Artifices of the Agents of *Spain*, who would engage them to caſt themſelves under the protection of the King their Maſter.

What hindred the ſucceſs of his Enterprizes.

It was obſerved likewiſe, that that which hindred the ſucceſs of his Enterprize at *Diepe*, and which kept him two or three days without enterpriſing any thing at the time he ought to have done it, was the jealouſie and contentions between the Chiefs that accompanied him; particularly of the Marqueſs *du Pont-à-Mouſſon*, Son to the Duke of *Lorraine*; of the Duke of *Nemours*, and of Cavalier *d'Aumale*: for they, believing the taking of the King infallible, or at leaſt his flight aſſured, and diſpoſing already of the Kingdom as of their Conqueſt, regarded one another with an Eye of jealouſie, and each formed deſigns in his head to have the better part of it.

He knew not how to take his advantages.

It was obſerved likewiſe, that in one of theſe Combats of *Diepe*, the Duke of *Mayenne*, having at preſent ſome advantage, had gained an entire Victory, if he had advanced but a quarter of an hour quicker: but marching too ſlowly

Part II. slowly, he let slip that opportunity he could never redeem: which made the King, who well observed his fault, say, *If he act not in another manner, I shall be assured always to gain the Field.*

Three causes for which the great body of the League prospered not in their designs.

I have recounted these Particularities, because they make known the defaults of that great Body of the League: and the true causes which hindred its progress, and reduced it to nothing, I find three principal ones.

The distrust between the *Spaniards* and Duke of *Mayenne*

The first, was the distrust which the Duke of *Mayenne* had of the *Spaniards*: for though he could not be without them, yet he could not but regard them as his secret Enemies; and they assisted him not for love of himself, but out of the design they had to profit themselves out of the Calamities of *France*. And therefore when they saw that he concurred not with them for their ends, and that he thought only of his own advantage without theirs, they afforded him but feeble succour; in such manner, that they let him fall so low, that when they would themselves have done it, they could not raise him.

The Jealousie among the Chiefs of the League.

The second, was the jealousie of the Chiefs, who never agreed among themselves. They thought more of crossing and ruining one another, then of weakning their common Enemy; and confounded themselves in such manner by their delusions and partialities, that they were ever wanting in the greatest Enterprises: whereas in the Party of the King, there was only

only one Chief, to whom all was reported, and by whose Orders all passed. Part II.

The third, was the heavinesse and dulnesse of the Duke of *Mayenne*, who at all times moved slowly. His Flatterers called this Gravity. This default proceeded principally from his nature; and was augmented not only by the mass of his body, great and fat beyond all proportion, and which by consequence required a great deal of nourishment, and much sleep; but likewise from a coldnesse and numnesse, which a certain Malady he had contracted at *Paris*, a little after the death of *Henry* the third, had reduced to a habitude in his body; of which, say some, he would very unhandsomly rejoyce. The sloth and negligence of the Duke of *Mayenne*

King *Henry* the Fourth was not of the same temper: for though he very much loved feasting, and to divert himself with his Familiars when he had leisure; nevertheless when he had Affairs of War, or any other nature, he never sate at Table above a quarter of an hour, and never slept above two or three hours together: so that Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth being well informed of his manner of living, and that of the Duke of *Mayenne*, confidently prognosticated, "That the *Bearnois* (for so he called him, "as all the Leaguers did) could not fail to have "the better of it, since he lay no longer "time abed then the Duke of *Mayenne* sate at "Table. Great activity & vigilance of *Hen.* 4.

"Officers and Servants form themselves "after the example of their Masters; those of "the Officers & Servants resemble their Masters.

Part II. "the King very ready, chearful, vigilant; who "executed his Commands ſo ſoon as they came "out of his mouth; who took care of all, and "gave him advice of all. On the contrary, "thoſe of the Duke were ſlow, negligent, idle; "and who, upon whatever preſſing occaſion, "would not loſe any thing of their Eaſe and "Divertiſements.

This Hiſtory recounts only the chief affairs.

It ſeemed to me, that for the better underſtanding our Hiſtory, it was neceſſary to obſerve theſe Circumſtances, which are abſolutely eſſential, and very inſtructive.

We have particularized about the end of our firſt Part, who were the Chiefs of the League, and how that they held all the beſt Cities and richeſt Provinces of the Realm. I ſhould never end, ſhould I recount all the Factions, Fights, Enterprizes, and Changes which happened in every Province for five or ſix years time. We ſhall follow only the groſs of Affairs, and behold how the Providence of God, and the incomparable Vertue of our *Henry*, drew *France* out of its Labyrinth of Miſeries, in ſuch manner, that the Eſtate and Religion which ſhould have been deſtroyed by an irrecoverable War, were both the one and the other miraculouſly ſaved, and re-flouriſhed with as much happineſs and glory as ever.

The *Pariſians* made believe the King was taken.

Though the Duke of *Mayenne* was retired from before *Diepe*, yet the people were entirely perſwaded that the King could not eſcape him; particularly the *Pariſians*, whom the

the Dutcheſs of *Montpenſier* made believe by Courriers on purpoſe, which ſhe cauſed to arrive from day to day, Now that he demanded to yield himſelf, Now that he was taken; and in fine, that he was conducting to *Paris*: inſomuch that there were many Ladies who hired Windows in the Street of St. *Denis* to ſee him paſs by. Part II.

Whilſt they amuſed themſelves with theſe falſe Reports, they were much aſtoniſhed to underſtand, that having received a Re-inforcement of four thouſand Engliſh, he was now upon his March, and came directly to *Paris*. He had ſome Intelligences which promiſed him, that if he could gain the Suburbs, they would open him a way into the City. He aſſaulted therefore thoſe of St. *Germain*, St. *Michael*, St. *James*, St. *Marceau*, and St. *Victor*, and carried them at unawares: but he could not gain the Quarter of the Univerſity, as he hoped, becauſe his Cannon was not brought in time. About eight a Clock in the morning, on *All-Saints-day*, he entred the Suburbs of St. *James*, where he found the people to have no averſion for him: for he ſaw them not affrighted, nor deſpairingly flying; but looking out of their Windows to regard him, and crying, *Vive le Roy*. And he uſed his advantage with a great Moderation; he forbad all ſorts of Violences or Plunders, and gave order that Divine Service ſhould be continued, in ſuch manner, that his people peaceably aſſiſted at it with the Burgeſſes, whilſt he having mounted

They are much aſtoniſhed to underſtand his marching towards them.

He takes the Fauxbourgs of St. *Germain*, &c.

His moderation in this rencounter.

Part II.

mounted the Steeple of St. *Germain*, attentively considered what was done in the City.

The Dukes of *Nemours* & *Mayenne* post thither.

That Evening the Duke of *Nemours* having posted thither with the Cavalry, and the Duke of *Mayenne* following on the morrow after with his Infantry, the King retired to *Montlehery*;

The King retires to *Montlehery*

but before-hand he drew up his Army in Battalia in the sight of *Paris*, and kept them four hours at their Arms, to make known to the *Parisians* the weakness of their Chiefs.

He takes *Estampes*, *Vendosme*, *le Mans*, & *Alenson*.

After this, *Estampes*, *Vendosme*, *le Mans*, and *Alenson*, not able to sustain his presence and Arms, surrendred to him: and in the manner things went, and as the Chiefs of the League defended themselves, he had without doubt re-conquered the whole Realm in less then fifteen months, if he had not wanted money: this only default retarded the course of his Prosperities. The Ransoms imposed on Cities reduced by force, all that he could borrow, and the money he could raise by Taxes, did not half suffice to keep his Troops in a Body. For this reason he was constrained for four or five years space, to make War in an extraordinary manner. When his Troops had served some months, and consumed beside their pay all they had forraged in their Quarters, he sent them home, as well to refresh them, as to preserve their Country from the Invasions of the League. In like manner, when the Voluntier-Gentlemen had spent that money they brought from other houses, he

Want of money stops his progress.

In what manner he made his Troops subsist.

gave

gave them leave to return, to endeavour to furniſh themſelves for another Voyage; inviting them by his Example, to retrench the ſuperfluous Expence of Cloaths and Equipage; and otherwiſe treating them with ſo much Civility and Courteſie, that he never wanted them in the moſt preſſing occaſions; for they returned the ſooneſt poſſible, ſerving him, if we may ſo ſay, each his Quarter. Part II.

In the mean time, he fell all of a ſudden upon *Normandy*, and almoſt wholly reduced it; took the Cities of *Dompfort*, *Falaiſe*, *Liſieux*, *Bayeux*, *Honfleur*; this laſt by a very bloody Siege: after his return from thence, he took likewiſe *Meulan* on the *Seine*, ſeven leagues off *Paris*, and laid Siege before *Dreux*. He reduces almoſt all *Normandy*, and beſiegeth *Dreux*.

At the noiſe of theſe Conqueſts, the Duke of *Mayenne* was obliged in Reputation to come forth of *Paris*, to aſſemble his Troops, and to receive, contrary to his inclination, fifteen hundred Lanciers, and five hundred Carabines, from the Duke of *Parma*, Governour of the Low-Countries: theſe Forces were commanded by the Count *d'Egmont*.

After this Duke had regained ſeveral little places which incommodated *Paris* and the Country adjacent, he paſſed the *Seine* over the Bridges of *Mantes*, to go ſuccour *Dreux*; imagining he might do it without hazarding any thing. The King, ſo ſoon as he had advice of his advance, raiſes his Siege, but with an intent to fight him; and came to this effect The Duke marches to ſuccour *Dreux*. The King advances to fight him,

to

Part II. to lodge at *Nonancourt*, on the passage of the River of *Eure*.

Two reasons oblige him so it. Two things principally obliged him to that resolution of giving him Battel: the one, because wanting money, he could not long keep his Troops in the body of an Army; and had he led them into *Normandy*, he should unprofitably have spent all the Revenue of that Province, which alone he valued above all others he held. The other, because he perceived so great a rejoycing throughout all his Army, who seemed to leap for joy, when they were told they should go to find out their Enemy, demonstrating by their outward appearances, that a day of fighting should be unto them as a day of feasting.

The Duke of *Mayenne* was not of opinion, that he ought to engage his Fortune and Honour to the hazard of one day, especially considering the Valour of the Kings Forces, in comparison of his; the great Experience, and incomparable Vertue of that Prince: and with all this, his great Fortune, which had already gained so great an ascendant over his, that he believed he could no better overcome him, then by avoiding Encounters with him. But the reproaches of the *Parisians*, the instances of the Legat, which the Pope had sent to support the Interests of the League; the *Spanish Cabal*, which on which side soever Fortune turned it self, promised themselves great advantages from this Battel; and in fine, the shame to have lost more then forty

What causes engage the Duke of *Mayenne* to the Battel.

places

places in six months, without having endeavoured to succour any of them; led him as it were perforce to the relief of *Dreux*: and when he was so near it, the false advice he had, that the King retired towards the City of *Verneuil au Perche*, and the Bravadoes of the Count of *Egmont*, who boasted himself capable with his Troops alone to defeat the Army of the King, engaged him with an extraordinary diligence to pass the River of *Eure*, over the Bridge of *Yvry*. Part II.

To speak truth, both the King and he were equally surprized: the King, to understand that he had so soon passed; and the Duke, to see that the King, whom he believed to have taken the way towards *Verneuil*, came directly towards him: but now though they would, they could neither withdraw; but of force must come to a Battel, which happened on the fourteenth of *March*, near the *Bourg* of *Yvry*.

Battel of *Yvry*, *March* 14.

The Histories do at large declare the description of the field of the Battel; the Order of both Armies, the Charges which the Battalions and Squadrons both on the one and the other side made, and of the faults of the Chiefs of the League: We shall therefore speak nothing, but what concerns the person of our Prince.

His rare Intelligence, his wonderful Genius, and his indefatigable activity in the Mystery of War, were all admired. It was wondred how he knew how to give Orders without

Wonderful Intelligence of *Henry* IV.

perplexing his intellectuals, but with as little Confusion, as if he had been in his Closet; how he could know so perfectly to range his Troops; and how, having observed the Enemies design, he could in a quarter of an hour change the whole order of his Army: How during the Fight, he could be every where, take notice of every thing, and himself give orders, as if he had had an hundred eyes, and as many arms: The noise, confusion, dust, and smoak, augmenting rather then troubling his judgment and knowledge.

His Prayers to God

The Armies being ready to joyn, he lifted up his eyes to Heaven; and joyning his hands, called God to witness of his intention, invoking his assistance, and praying that he would reduce the Rebels to an acknowledgment of him, whom the order of Succession had given them for Legitimate Soveraign: *But, Lord,* said he, *if it pleaseth thee to dispose otherwise, or that I should be of the number of those Kings whom thou dedicatest to thy anger, deprive me of my life with my Crown; consent that I may this day fall a Victime to thy holy Will: let my death deliver* France *from the Calamities of War, and my blood be the last that shall be shed in this Quarrel.*

His Exhortation to his Soldiers.

Immediately after, he caused to be given him his Habillement for his head, on the top of which he had a Plume of three white Feathers; and having put it on, before he pulled down his Viziere, he told his Squadrons, *My Companions, if you this day run my fortune, I*

shall

ſhall likewiſe run yours: I will overcome, or dye with you: let me only conjure you to keep your Ranks; and if the heat of the Combat make you quit them, think as ſoon of rallying; it will be the gain of the Battel: you may do it between thoſe three Trees which you ſee there on high, on your right hand (they were three Pear-trees) *and if you loſe your Enſigns, Cornets, or Banners, loſe not the ſight of my white Feather, which you ſhall always find in the Road to Honour and Victory.* Part II.

The Deciſion of the Battel having been a long time uncertain, was in the end favourable to him. The principal Glory being due to himſelf alone, ſo much the more, becauſe he Charged moſt impetuouſly on that formidable Body commanded by the Count of *Egmont*; and that having entred that Foreſt of Lances with his Sword in his hand, rendred them uſeleſs, and conſtrained them to come to their ſhort Arms; at which his had a great advantage, becauſe the *French* are more agile and active then the *Flemings*: ſo that in leſs then a quarter of an hour, he pierced them, diſſipated them, and put them to rout; the cauſe of the entire gain of the Battel. The Battel won by the King.

Of ſixteen thouſand men which the Duke had, there were ſcarce four thouſand ſaved. There remained above a thouſand Horſe on the place with the Count of *Egmont*, four hundred Priſoners of Note, and all the Infantry; for the *Lanſquenets* were all cut in pieces. Great loſs of the Leaguers.

Part II. They took all his Baggage, Cannon, Enfigns, and Cornets; to wit, twenty Cornets of Cavalry, the white Cornet of the Duke, the Colonel of his *Reiſtres* or *German* Horſe, the great Standard of Count *Egmont*, and ſixty Colours of Foot.

The Duke of *Mayenne* eſcapes to *Mantes*, & thence to *Paris*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* behaved himſelf as valiantly as he ought, and many times endeavoured to make ſome rally; but in the end, for fear of being encompaſſed, he retired toward the Bridge of *Yvry*; and having paſſed it, cauſed it to be broken down, to ſtop thoſe purſued him; and ſo eſcaped to *Mantes*, and thence to S. *Denis*, and after to *Paris*. A part of the Flyers took the ſame way with him, others took that of the Plain, and gained the City of *Chartres*.

The King too much expoſes his perſon, which *Byron* freely remonſtrates to him.

The King having engaged himſelf, during the defeat, among a Squadron of *Waloons*, was in great danger of his perſon; ſo that his Army for ſome time believed him dead: upon which the Mareſhal of *Byron*, accuſtomed to ſpeak freely to him, and who had not at all fought, but had kept his Quarter with a Body of Reſerve, to hinder the rallying of the Enemies, could not refrain from telling him; *Ah Sir, this is not juſt; you have this day done what* Byron *ought to do, and he only what the King ought to have done.*

This Remonſtrance was approved by all thoſe that heard it, and the Principal Chiefs took the liberty to entreat the King, not to expoſe any more his perſon, but to conſider, that

that God had not deſtined him to be a Muſquetier, but to be King of *France*: that all the Arms of his Subjects ought to fight for him; but that they would all become lame and benummed, ſhould they loſe their head, which gave them motion. Part II.

His Valour this day out-ſhone that of the greateſt of his Chieftains; but beſides that, his Clemency, his Generoſity, and his Courteſie, added a wonderful Splendour to his fair Actions: and the manner with which he uſed his Victory, was a certain proof that he gained it by his Conduct rather then Fortune. His Clemency & Generoſity after the Victory.

He choſe rather to receive the Battalions of the *Suiſſes* on Compoſition, then to cut them in pieces, as he might have done: he reſtored them their Enſigns, and cauſed them to be reconducted into their Country, by his Commiſſaries; by which he gained the affection of five little Catholick Cantons.

He had nothing more in his heart, then to make his Subjects know, that he deſired to ſpare their blood, and that they had to do with a mild and merciful King, and not with a cruel and implacable Enemy: he cauſed to be proclaimed in the Rout, *Save the* French, *and let your blows fall on the ſtranger.* He took to mercy all thoſe which demanded quarter, and ſaved them as much as he could from the hands of the Souldiers fleſh'd in the ſlaughter. He treated the Priſoners, particularly the Gentlemen, not only with humanity, but likewiſe with courteſie: and he loaded with

Part II. His acknowledgments & Justice:

honour, praises, and thanks, all the Nobility which had fought for him; sharing with them the glory of the day, and giving them embraces, as earnests of those recompences they might expect from him when he should be in power.

A Noble Action he did.

I cannot forget one Action which he did, of wonderful goodness, and which was of wonderful efficacy to assure to him the hearts of his Officers and Gentlemen. Colonel *Thische*, or *Theodoric* of *Schomberg*, commanding some Troops of *Reistres*, had been enforced the Evening before the Battel, by the clamours of those Brutes, to demand of him those Musters were due to them; and to represent to him, that upon less Conditions they would not fight. The *Suisses* and *Allemans* of that time, used often to act so; of which Histories furnish us with an hundred Examples. The King much incensed at such a demand, answered him, *How, Colonel* Thische! *is this done like a Man of Honour, to demand money when you ought to receive Orders for the Battel?* The Colonel retired much confused, without replying any thing. On the morrow, the King, having arranged his Troops, remembred that he had ill treated him; and thereupon, pressed forward by a motion which could find no place but in a generous Soul, went to seek him, and told him, *Colonel, you see we are engaged in an occasion which obliges us to no long stay, but it is not just I should take away the Honour of so brave a Gentleman as your self: I declare*

declare therefore that I acknowledge you for an honeſt Man, and one incapable of committing any thing unworthy. Pall

This ſaid, he cordially embraced him; and the Colonel having the tears ſtanding in his Eyes, with tenderneſs anſwered him, *Ah, Sir, by reſtoring me that Honour you had deprived me of, you deprive me of my Life; for I ſhould be unworthy, if I ſhould not this day lay it down for your ſervice: if I had a thouſand, I would willingly ſpend them all at your feet.* In ſhort, he was ſlain in this occaſion, as were many other brave Gentlemen.

Another worthy Action.

I will yet recount another worthy Action, which may admirably demonſtrate, how our *Henry* ſpared neither Civilities nor Careſſes to Gentlemen who ſerved him well: At night, when he ſupt at the Caſtle of *Roſny*, being advertized that the Mareſhal *d'Aumont* came to render him an account of what he had done, he went forth to meet him; and having ſtraitly embraced him, carried him in to Supper, and made him ſit at the Table, with theſe obliging words, *That there was great reaſon he ſhould be at the Feaſt, ſince he had ſo well ſerved at his Nuptials.*

What hindred the King to go directly to *Paris*.

The terrour was ſo great in *Paris* after the loſs of this Battel, that if the King had gone directly thither, there could no doubt have been made but they had received him without much difficulty. Some ſaid, that it was the Mareſhal of *Byron* who diverted him; fearing leſt afterwards, not having more need of him,

Part II. he ſhould conſider him leſs. Others thought that it was the *Hugonot*-Miniſters and Captains diſſwaded him, becauſe they feared leſt he ſhould accommodate with the *Pariſians* for Religion; and therefore they counſelled him rather to gain this great City by Famine: which the Marqueſs *d'O*, at preſent Superintendant, preſſed very ſtrongly; to the end the King taking it by this way, might treat it as a conquered City, draw thence great Treaſuries, ſeize the Rents of the *Hoſtel de Ville*, making Bankrupt of the Burgeſſes for the Debts of the King, which were very great.

Deviliſh Counſel.

The Widow of *Montpenſier*, one of the principal Organs of the League, who was accuſtomed to amuſe the people with falſe News, could not plaiſter the miſchief of the loſs of this Battel, but by ſaying, *That truly the Duke had loſt it, but that the* Bearnois *was dead.* The Burgeſſes believed it for five or ſix days; and this was enough to reſtrain their firſt fears, and to gain time to give Orders, and ſend to levy Succours on all ſides.

The Widow of *Montpenſier* amuſes the people,

After the Battel, the King, having ſtaid ſome days at *Mantes*, by reaſon of the great Rains, retook the Field, takes *Lagni*, *Provins*, *Motereau*, and *Melun*, without permitting himſelf to be amuſed by the Propoſitions of Truce made him by *Villeroy*. After having in his paſſage attempted the City of *Sens* with little ſucceſs, he came to block up *Paris*, and took all the Poſts and Caſtles about it, where he lodged Garriſons of Horſe to beat the Campagne.

The King departs from *Mantes*, takes ſome Cities, and goes to block up *Paris*.

The

The Duke of *Mayenne* was not within; he had left the Duke of *Nemours* for Governour, and was gone to meet the Duke of *Parma* at *Conde* on the *Eſcaut*, to demand of him ſome aſſiſtance in his neceſſity. He was in a great trouble, and in a juſt fear to loſe *Paris*, whether he relieved it, or whether he permitted it to be taken; and that the rather, becauſe that he ſaw well, that if he brought in the *Spaniſh* Aſſiſtance, the *Sixteen* would ſerve themſelves of that advantage again to raiſe up themſelves, and poſſibly would out of deſpite to him, engage *Paris* under the *Spaniſh* Yoke. For theſe *Sixteen* loved him not at all, becauſe he had broken up their Council of Forty, which bridled his Authority; and that to ſhew himſelf abſolutely averſe to a Republican Government, which they would have introduced, he had created another Council, a Keeper of the Seals, and four Secretaries of State; with which he governed Affairs, without calling them, except when he had need of money.

Part II. The Duke of *Mayenne* was gone to meet the Duke of *Parma*, and had left the Duke of *Nemours* at *Paris*.

Beſides this trouble, there happened to him another ſubject of inquietude, which was the deceaſe of the old Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who died at *Fontenay*, where he was guarded by the Lord *de la Boulay*. He had reaſon to fear, leſt his death ſhould give occaſion to the *Spaniards* and to the *Sixteen* to demand the Creation of a King; and that they ſhould preſs him ſo much, that in the neceſſity he had of their aid, he ſhould be conſtrained to ſuffer it. In effect,

The death of the old Cardinal of *Bourbon* troubles him.

Part II.

The Spaniards and the Sixteen press him to make a King: he assigns the Estates to *Paris*.

effect, this was the first Condition which the Agents of *Spain* proposed in the Treaty they held with him to give him Assistance: and he, out of fear to displease them, testified that he ardently wished the Convocation of the Estates to elect a King; and transferred the place of their Assembly from the City of *Melun*, where he had assigned it, to that of *Paris*, that is to say, from a City which he had lost, to one which was besieged. In the mean time he imployed his Friends with the Parliament and at the *Hostel de Ville*, to keep to himself the quality of Lord-General: which being continued to him, he demonstrated that he feared nothing so much as the Estates, and endeavoured by all his power to hinder them; that which, to speak truth, compleated the ruine of his Party.

He keeps to himself the Title of Lieutenant-General.

Paris being blocked up, the Legat and the *Sixteen* forgot nothing to encourage their people. They consulted their faculty of Theology, and obtained what Resolutions they pleased against him they named the *Bearnois*. They caused many, both general and particular, Processions to be made; and the Officers received their Oath of Fidelity to the *Holy Union*: so it was they called the *League*.

Nemours takes order for the defence of *Paris*.

At the same time the Duke of *Nemours* took great Order to put the City in a posture of Defence; and the Burgesses being for the most part perswaded, that if the King took it, he would establish Preaching, and abolish the Mass; were possessed with an extreme ardour, and

and contributed all that was demanded, either of their Purſe or Labour, towards its Fortification. Part II.

There is no finer paſſage in the Hiſtories of that time, then the Relation of this Siege, the Orders which *Nemours* gave in the City, the Garriſons he eſtabliſhed in divers Quarters, the Sallies he made for the firſt month, the Inventions he uſed to animate the people, the Endeavours and divers Practices of the Kings Friends to bring him into the City, the Negotiations held in one part and the other to eſſay a Treaty of Accommodation; how Proviſions diminiſhed, how they ſought means to make them laſt, how notwithſtanding all their œconomy, the Famine was extreme; and how in the end, that great City being within three or four days of utter periſhing, was delivered by the Duke of *Parma*.

I ſhall obſerve only ſome Particularities very memorable. There were in *Paris* when it was blocked up, only two hundred thouſand perſons; and there were of them near thirty thouſand of the Country people thereabouts, who had there refuged themſelves; and there were retired near one hundred thouſand of the natural Inhabitants: ſo that in thoſe times there were no more then three hundred thouſand Souls in *Paris*; whereas it is now believed, that there are twice as many. Number of the Inhabitants of *Paris*.

The King was made hope, that ſo ſoon as the *Pariſians* had for ſeven or eight days ſeen the It proves not ſo eaſie to take it by Famine.

Part II. the Granaries and Markets without Bread, the Butcheries without Meat, the Ports without Corn, Wine, and other Commodities with which the River is accuſtomed to be covered, they would go take their Chiefs by the throat, and conſtrain them to treat with them: or at leaſt if a ſeditious humour did not ſo ſoon prompt them to it, Famine would force them in fifteen days. In effect, they had but five weeks Victuals, but they managed them carefully; and thoſe who had ſaid that, knew not well the people of *Paris*, for they are wonderfully patient: nor is there any extremity they are not capable to ſuffer, provided they have thoſe know how to conduct them; and principally when they act for their Religion. It cannot be read without aſtoniſhment, how blind was the Obedience, and how conſtant the Union of that fierce and indocile people, for four whole months of horrible Loſſes and Miſeries. The Famine was ſo great, that the People eat even the Herbs that grew in the Ditches: Dogs, Cats, and Hides of Leather, were Food; and ſome have reported, that the *Lanſquenets*, or Foot-ſouldiers, fed upon ſuch Children as they could entrap.

The *Hugonots* would have it taken by force, but the King will not.

The *Hugonots*, raviſhed with delight to hold that City blocked up which had done them ſo much miſchief, inſiſted ſtrongly in the Kings Council; and not only cryed it there themſelves, but made it be cryed aloud among the Souldiers, That it ſhould be aſſaulted by lively force; and that in ſix hours it would ſo become

become a deſolate thing. But the good and wiſe King took no heed to follow thoſe paſſionate counſels: he knew well, that they would take parts by force, that they might murder all, in revenge of the Maſſacres of St. *Bartholomew*. Part II.

" And moreover, he conſidered that he ſhould " lay deſolate a City, the ruine of which, like " a wound ſtruck in the heart, might poſſibly " prove mortal to all *France*: That he ſhould " in one day diſſipate the richeſt, and almoſt " the only Treaſure of his Eſtate; and that no " perſon would be benefited by it, but only the " ſimple Souldiery; who, becoming inſolent " by ſo rich a Booty, would either overwhelm " themſelves in their Delights, or as ſoon aban- " don him.

Uſeleſs mouths ſtarve *Paris*.

Thoſe who within had taken the care of the Politick part, had committed a great fault in not putting forth the poor, popular, and uſeleſs mouths. The ſcarcity augmenting, they ſought too late means to remedy it: but not finding any, they deputed ſome to the King, to gain permiſſion of him to let a certain number depart; who, hoping for this grace, were already aſſembled near the Gate of St. *Victor*, and had taken leave of their Friends and Neighbours with thoſe Regrets, which even rent aſunder the Hearts of the moſt inſenſible.

The King was ſo good and merciful, that he permitted himſelf eaſily to yield to grant them his Favour: but thoſe of his Council oppoſed it ſo ſtrongly, that for fear to diſguſt them,

Part II. Great clemency of the King, to let the miserable people go forth.

them, he was at first constrained to send back those miserable People. His Clemency nevertheless could not for any long time suffer their violence: for having understood by many, who fearing death less then Famine, had leapt from the Walls, the pitiful estate of the City, and they having truly represented unto him what they had beheld of their horrible necessities, with the incredible obstinacy of the Leaguers; his heart was in such manner overburthened with grief, that the tears start out of his eyes; and having a little turned himself away, to conceal that emotion, he cast forth a great sigh, with these words:

His generous words. *O Lord, thou knowest who are the causes of this: but give me the means to save those, whom the obstinate malice of my Enemies would make perish.*

In vain did the most averse of his Council, and especially the *Hugonots*, represent to him that these Rebels merited no favour; he resolved to open a passage to the Innocent. *I wonder not at all*, said he, *if the Chiefs of the League, or if the* Spaniard *have so little compassion on those poor people: they are only Tyrants; but for my self, who am their Father and their King, I cannot hear the recital of these Calamities, without being touched to the bottom of my soul, or without ardently desiring to remedy them. I cannot hinder those whom the fury of the League possesses, from perishing with it; but for those who implore my Clemency, and who are only guilty of the Crimes of others,*

I will ſtretch forth my arms to them. This ſaid, he commanded that they ſhould permit thoſe miſerable people to depart. There were ſome who crawled, and others were fain to be carried. There came out at this time more then four thouſand, who all with great and unanimous ſhouts, cryed out, *Long live the King.* Part II.

Thoſe of the Army ſend Victuals into *Paris.*

After that day, ſince they knew it offended him not, the Captains that kept the Guards let daily great Bands eſcape, and likewiſe took the boldneſs to ſend Victuals and refreſhments to their Friends, and to their ancient Hoſts, and particularly to the Ladies. "For *Paris* being "the common Country of the *French*, there "are few people who love it not, and who "have not there ſome gage of friendſhip, "which forbids them from procuring its loſs "and utter ruine.

After the Example of the Captains, the Souldiers licenſed themſelves to convey to them Meat, Bread, and Barrels of Wine over the Walls; receiving in Exchange ſome rich Goods at a vile price, and making themſelves brave at the expences of the Merchants: that which theſe were in ſome manner conſtrained to tolerate, becauſe the others had no money wherewith to pay them. This made *Paris* ſubſiſt near a month longer then it would have done: but it is almoſt impoſſible but this ſhould always happen in like occaſions, as hath been ſeen not long time ſince. God be pleaſed for ever hereafter to preſerve *France* from ſo great ills.

Which makes them ſubſiſt.

After

Part II. After all, the King knew certainly that that great City could not long ſubſiſt; and he deſired to gain abſolutely their hears, to the end he might undermine the very foundations of the League. For this reaſon he combated their Obſtinacy with an exceſs of Indulgence. He gave Paſſe-ports to the Scholars, not able to refuſe them to their Parents who were with him; after, to the Ladies and to the Eccleſiaſticks; and in the end, to thoſe who had ſhewed themſelves his moſt cruel Enemies.

The King takes all the Suburbs in one night.

In the mean time, to haſten a little the Chiefs of the League to come to a Capitulation, it was agreed in his Council that he ſhould render himſelf Maſter of the Suburbs. The Evening of the 27. of *July*, he cauſed them all to be aſſaulted at once. They were forced in leſs then an hour, and all the Gates blocked up; his Souldiers having firſt fortified their Quarters, and thrown down the houſes neareſt the Ditch.

By this laſt Action he took the *Pariſians* by the throats, and preſſed them in ſuch ſort, that they could ſcarce breathe: for which cauſe their Chiefs apprehending, that neither their defences, exhortations, or fear of puniſhments would be longer capable to retain them, concluded after ten or twelve deliberations, to enter into Conference with the King; not out of a cordial intention to treat with him, but only to ſpin out things to a length, that they might give time to the Duke of *Mayenne* to make an attempt to ſuccour them.

They

They received Intelligence from that Duke twice every week, and each time he promiſed them that he would be with them with a puiſſant Army in five or ſix days. Having fed them with theſe hopes for five or ſix weeks, he advanced in the end to *Meaux*, where *Vitry* was Governour, and from thence gave them ſome greater hopes of relief: however, he was too weak to hazard it.

Part II. The Duke of *Mayenne* advances to *Meaux*, but dares not relieve *Paris*.

The Duke of *Parma*, who had Order from *Spain* to go joyn with him, and not to ſpare any thing for the relief of *Paris*, came with great unwillingneſs. He feared leſt during his abſence, the Council or Cabinet ſhould appoint a Succeſſour in his Government; and that he ſhould loſe more in the Low-Countries, then he ſhould gain in *France*: Notwithſtanding he received Commands ſo expreſs, that he was conſtrained to obey. He parted therefore from *Valencienne* on the ſixth of *Auguſt*, and arrived at *Meaux* on the two and twentieth. He brought along with him only twelve thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe; but Artillery and Ammunition, for an Army thrice as great; and fifteen hundred Waggons of Proviſions to refreſh *Paris*.

The Duke of *Parma* comes to joyn with him with an Army from the Low-Countries.

He was without doubt the greateſt Captain among Strangers of the Age he lived, for all Exploits which depend on profound Reaſon, and judicious Conduct: he had ſo well laid the Model of his Deſign in his Head, ſo well taken his Meaſures by the exacteſt Maps of the Country, and ſo well meditated on all

He had ſo well contrived all things, that he was aſſured to raiſe the Siege of *Paris*.

that could arrive him, and all that he could do, that he held himself assured of success.

The King remembered he would quit the Low-Countries.

Those who were about the King, had always made him believe, that this Duke would not leave the Low-Countries; and said, That if he did either, that he could not raise so great a power as to dare engage in the heart of *France*: or that if he raised any great Army, he would not arrive time enough to deliver *Paris*. The King suffered himself to be a little carried away with these false Reasons: but when he understood he marched in this manner, he began already to fear that which arrived; and the danger appeared so much more, because he had less foreseen it. In these Apprehensions he was well content to renew the Negotiation with the Duke of *Mayenne*, who on his side feigned to desire an Accommodation more then ever; to the end he might amuse him, for fear he should assault *Paris* by plain force; and to entertain the *Parisians* with the pregnant hopes of their Delivery: for the Famine made them despair in such manner, that it was no longer in his power, with all his inventions, to retain them from Surrendry for more then five or six days at most.

He renews the Negotiation with the Duke of *Mayenne*, who feigns to entertain it, to amuse him

When the Duke of *Parma* was within two days Journey of *Meaux*, he caused it to be signified to the King, That the Duke of *Mayenne* could no longer treat but conjoyntly with him. At present the Council of the King was much astonished, and in a great irresolution, not knowing what to do. It was without doubt

The Kings Council much troubled.

a great

a great shame for the King, and a notable diminishing of the Reputation of his Arms, to raise a Siege which had endured four months; and it must needs be a most sensible displeasure to this Prince, who was brave and glorious, to raise it on the Eve of the taking of that great City, the reduction of which had been a mortal wound to the League. Part II.

He had therefore but one course to take, but which was without doubt very hazardous; nevertheless the King resolved it: this was, to leave a part of his Troops in the Suburbs, and chuse a place of Battel, where the rest of the Army might make head against the Duke of *Parma*, and not raise the Siege. To this effect, the King, confirmed in it by the advice of *la Noue*, *Guitry*, and *Plessis Mornay*, left only three thousand men on the side of the University, and put the rest of his Army in Battalia, in the Plain of *Bondy*, which was between *Paris* and the Duke of *Parma*. The King would take a place of Battel, and not raise the Siege.

But the Mareshal of *Byron*, disanulling absolutely that counsel, wrought so far, that it was resolved to advance as far as *Chelles* with intention to give Battel. It was not known whether he was carried to this advice either out of jealouse, because he had not given the first counsel, or because it seemed to him too dangerous to remain so near *Paris*, from whence there might sally fifteen or sixteen thousand men on the day of Battel to charge them behind. However it were, his Authority was so great among the Men of War, *Byron* advises to raise the Siege, and carries it.

Part II. and it was so dangerous in this Conjuncture to contract that hot spirit, that they were forced to believe him, and absolutely raise the Seige to go encamp at *Chelles*.

The Duke of *Parma* seeing that, and judging it not convenient to fight, retrenched himself readily in a Marish so well, that he feared not to be forced: he boasted likewise that the King should not in that Post know how to force him to discharge one Pistol, and yet that he would take a City in his sight, and open a passage on the Rivers to send Provisions into *Paris*. In sum, he executed punctually what he had said. It was not in the power of the King to oblige him to fight; and he took *Lagny* on the *Marne*, whilst he was not able to relieve it. Thus *Paris* was absolutely delivered, receiving on the morrow a very great quantity of Boats, laden with all sorts of Provisions. Yet their Joy was not equal to their Comfort: for their too long Misery had in such manner weakned their Bodies, and suppress their Courages, that they were not capable of any sentiments of rejoycing.

The Duke of Parma takes Lagny in the sight of the King, & relieves Paris.

Abundance of Victuals carried to Paris.

The Troops of the Duke of *Nemours* having regained heart by this refreshment, sallied daily with the most couragious of the Burgesses, and cut off all Provisions from the Kings Camp, in such manner, that a little Scarcity being got amongst them, Sicknesses began to multiply; and the Gentlemen who had flocked thither out of the hopes of a Battel, began to grow impatient; which the King seeing, assembled

bled

bled his Council to seek some remedy to these inconveniences. He found, that throughout his whole Army there were very ill dispositions; and that he had better make a Retreat, then expose himself to greater Affronts: but being loth to quit the Enterprize of *Paris*, he tryed in passing to carry it by storm on the University-sides, between the Gates of S. *James* and S. *Marceau*: which having done in vain, he retired to *Senlis*, and thence to *Creil*. In the end, not able to do better, he took *Clermont* in *Beauvoisis*, which incommodated *Senlis* and *Compeigne*. Afterwards he put a part of his Troops in the Cities about *Paris*; sent another into the Provinces, to re-assure them in their Obedience; and kept only with himself a flying Army. Part II.

The Army of the King constrained to separate.

So soon as he was retired, the Dukes of *Parma* and *Mayenne* enlarged themselves in the *Brie*. *Parma*, instantly sollicited by the Leaguers, besieged *Corbeil*: he thought to take it in four or five days, but he lay before it a whole month, through the Duke of *Mayenne*'s fault; who either out of neglect or jealousie furnished him with Ammunition but by little and little. So that seeing his Army much diminished, and the rest to licentiate themselves to all Disorders, after the Example of the *French* Souldiers, he returned to *Flanders*, much discontented with the Conduct of the *French* Nation, "*whom he had found* (as he "said) *inconstant and volatile; full of Jea-*"*lousies and Divisions; insatiable and ingrate-*

Duke of *Parma* besieges *Corbeil*, and takes it.

He returns to *Flanders*.

Part II. ful. His vexatious Melancholy ſure made him ſay ſo.

Corbeil re-gained by ſtorm. Before his departure, he had the diſpleaſure to hear of the loſs of *Corbeil*, which had coſt him ſo much. *Givry*, Governour of *Brie*, for the King, re-gained it in one night by ſtorm: and the League, whatever inſtances they made to him, could not oblige the Duke of *Parma* to ſtay in *France* till they had re-taken it. He left them only eight thouſand men of his, promiſing to return at the Spring with a greater Army, and counſelling them in the mean time to amuſe the King by Treaties of Peace until the next *Campagne*: a Counſel which the Duke of *Mayenne* was not wanting to follow; which kept many Cities to his Party, were ready to abandon him.

The Expedition of the Duke of *Parma* into *France*, retarded much the Affairs of the King, but advanced not at all thoſe of the Duke of *Mayenne*: on the contrary, it imbroiled them, and begat thoſe diſpoſitions which in the end ruined them. For the Duke of *Parma*, knowing the defaults of the Duke of *Mayenne*, repreſented to the Council of *Spain*, That he was very improper for the advancement of their Intereſts, being both too weak, and having too little Authority to keep in Unity ſo great a Party, too jealous, too ſlow, and too idle to give order in all things: that therefore it was neceſſary that the King of *Spain* ſhould take care of the League, and become abſolute Maſter of it. That to this effect he ſhould

The Duke of *Parma* counſels the King of *Spain* to become chief Maſter of the League.

gain

gain the Eccleſiaſticks, and the people of the great Cities; who having a great deſire to ſee the Eſtate of the Government changed, becauſe under the laſt Kings it had been very oppreſſive to the people, would be eaſily induced either to joyn the Cities together in form of *Cantons*, or make a King, whoſe power ſhould be ſo limited, that he could never weaken them, either by Taxes or by Arms, as the two laſt Kings had done.

The King of *Spain* no longer conſiders the Duke of *Mayenne*, but thinks to render himſelf Maſter of the great Cities by Factions.

In effect, the King of *Spain*, finding this way moſt commodious to his deſigns, and thinking by it to change *France* into a Republick, or make a King who ſhould only ſubſiſt by him, conſidered no longer the Duke of *Mayenne* ſo much as he had done, and aſſiſted him but weakly, and endeavoured to create Factions among the great Cities, and particularly that of the *Sixteen* at *Paris*, not ſparing any money: ſo that many believed he expended ſuch great ſums in this way, that had he laid them out in raiſing Armies, he had conquered a good part of the Realm.

The King endeavours to re- the Duke.

Now our *Henry* conſidering his deſigns, laboured on his part to fruſtrate them. And firſt, as to the Duke of *Mayenne*, he flattered him with Kindneſſes and many good Treatments; which he did for two ends, to wit, to eſſay to gain him, and likewiſe to render him more ſuſpected to the *Spaniards*. To the ſame effect he endeavoured to augment in him the diſguſt he already had for that Nation; and withal, promiſed him great Advantages, if

Part II.

he would accommodate with him. By these means he daily a little restrained him, cooled his ardour, and hindred him from carrying things to extremities. And as for the people, knowing that it was the ill Government of his Predecessour which had altered their Affections, and had furnished them with the pretext and occasion of the League to cause their importments, he omitted no diligence nor no goodness which might reduce them sweetly to their Duty.

He endeavours likewise to re-gain the people.

This good King considered, that to the recovery of a disease, it is necessary that the causes be taken away; and that to this purpose he was to correct and sweeten the ill humours which had put the Estate into this extremity. His sight of it had likewise made him know, that three things principally had rendred his Predecessour odious and contemptible.

Three means by which Henry III. lost the affection of his Subjects. His negligence and misapplication.

"The first, was his softness and faint-heartedness; which made him, instead of imploying those fair Talents which God had given him to rule in his Estate, and act in the Functions of a King, to neglect to apply himself, and not take sufficiently to heart the conduct of his Affairs, but addict himself wholly to his pleasures. As if Royalty, which is the greatest and most eminent of all things here below, were only a vain divertisement: or as if God had made Kings only for the love of themselves, and not for his glory, and the common Good of men.

"The

"The second, was his ill management, and "the wasting his Revenues; which obliged "him to seek extraordinary and oppressive "ways to exact money. Now he had not only consumed his Revenues by his own extreme profuseness, and by the immense Gifts "he made to his Favourites; a thing which "made the people desperate; but much more, "by his negligence, because he would not give "himself the trouble to take knowledge of, or "watch over those to whom he trusted their "Administration: who, forgetting that they "were only his Dispensers, became prodigal in "a thousand foolish expences; and distributed them to their Creatures, as if they had "been their proper Goods.

Part III. The wasting his Revenues.

"The third, was the little belief they had in "his Faith; and his manner of acting with his "Subjects too subtil, too fine, and too clouded; "in such manner, that he had always this misfortune, they were in continual distrust of "him; insomuch that all his words and actions seemed falsities, and they thought they "did prudently in believing quite contrary to "all he would have them believe.

His ill keeping his words.

Now our *Henry*, having known that these ill ways had conducted his Predecessor to a Precipice, resolved, as well out of the inclination he he had to good, as out of good Policy, to follow paths quite contrary.

"First, he would shew to the League, who "disputed the Scepter with him, that he was "worthy to carry it. And for this effect, he "acted

Three other ways quite contrary, by which *Henry* IV.

"acted continually not only in the Field, and
"in matters of War, but in his Cabinet by his
"deliberations of important Affairs, by his
"Negotiations, by the order and distribution
"of his Revenues, by his dispensations of his
"Charges and Imployments, by his know-
"ledge of his principal Laws, the Order and
"Policy of his Realm, and in fine, and all his
"Actions, like one who contents himself not
"with the name of a King, but would be one
"in effect. He would have faithful Ministers,
"but would have no Companions. He com-
"mitted to them the care of his Affairs in such
"manner, that he still remained the absolute
"Master, and they the Servants. He loved
"them tenderly, as it was just, and used a
"great familiarity with them; but yet per-
"mitted them not to be wanting either in
"submission or respect. If he took their coun-
"sel, it was by form of advice; and he obli-
"ged them much oftner by reason to follow
"his, then he followed theirs. He honoured
"them with his Graces and with Benefits, but
"in proportion and measure: he gave them
"not all to one alone, or to two or three; but
"like a common Father, distributed his re-
"compences to all those he judged worthy:
"and he would that they should receive them
"from his hands, and not from others; for he
"knew that to give and do good, is the most
"glorious Attribute of Soveraignty, which
"ought not to be communicated to any per-
"son.

His activity and greatness of Soul.

"In

"In the second place, he took a most par- Part II.
"ticular care to cause his Revenues to be His care of his Revenues.
"well administred: to which four motives
"obliged him. The first, because he was na-
"turally, though not covetous, yet a good
"husband, and one who hated profuseness.
"The second, because he loved his people,
"and would spare them the most he could
"possibly; for he made conscience of draw-
"ing money out of their purses, except up-
"on most necessary occasions; and there-
"fore he never kept near him any of those
"Blood-suckers of the Court, who draw all
"to their Coffers, and who never care from
"whence it comes, so that they have it.
"The third, because the necessity he had often
"been in; had made him know the value and
"need of money; and that it was good to
"manage it well, because hard to recover it.
"And the fourth, because not having been
"bred up ignorant in Affairs, as too often
"Princes are, he had been well inform-
"ed that the greatest part of those ills
"which had afflicted *France*, proceeded from
"the ill administration of publick monies.
And therefore among all the cares he took to govern well his Estates, he had none greater or more continual, then that of ordering well his Revenues, and to clear this matter. The Superintendants had imbroiled and perplexed them with an hundred thousand knots, so that they could neither be loosned not distinguished; and they had acted in such manner,

manner, that this management, as a Treasurer of that time said, was a kind of Black Art, where nothing could be seen; so that thus the Goods of the Princes, and the Blood of the poor people remained ever at their discretion.

Francis d'O Superintendant of the Revenues, a great Expender.

He who at present had care of the Revenues, was a *Norman* Gentleman, named *Francis d'O*, who had been Superintendant since the time of *Henry* the Third. This man, to speak the truth, was horribly prodigal in all sorts of Expences: his profuseness rendred him more ingenious and more subtil to find out new Inventions to grasp the substance of the people, even to their very marrow; and to perplex more and more the order of the Revenues, to the end it might not be discovered what spoil he made. Now though the King knew him well for such as he was, nevertheless, because he had a strong *Cabal* with the Minions and Servants of the Defunct *Henry* the Third, who acted the parts of zealous Catholicks, he was constrained to suffer him in that Charge, expecting while his Affairs were in a better Estate. In the mean time, to give a check to his insatiable Covetousness; he by little and little himself took knowledge of the Management of his Monies; and sweetly introduced some Orders, now by one means, and then by another, so that he knew in time how to bridle him; and reduced things in such manner, that he could take but little in comparison of what he had done before.

The King constrained to suffer him in this charge, but pares his nails.

It

It will be ſuperfluous to tell with what Nobleneſs and what freedom our *Henry* acted with all the World. "We may ſee through "the whole courſe of his life, that his very "Enemies had more confidence in his Word "alone, then in the Writings of all others. He "uſed much prudence in all his Conduct; but "he uſed no deceit, cunning, or artifice. The "Prudent man never walks, but by ways "ſtraight and vertuous; and the cunning man, "on the contrary, by paths oblique and "wicked. The Prudent cannot but be gene-"rous and good; whilſt the other cannot "but be baſe, deceitful, and unworthy. Now "it is certain, that all the life of this great "King was nothing but Generoſity, good-"neſs, ſweetneſs, and clemency; having a "wonderful inclination to oblige all ſorts of "perſons; at leaſt with kindneſſes, embraces, "and ſweet words, when he had no other "means: he acknowledged the leaſt ſervices, "when he could do it: he ſhewed himſelf "eaſie and affable to all the World, familiar "to his Souldiers, pitiful to the Country-"people; ſo that he would often excuſe him-"ſelf to them when occaſion preſented, for "the evils they ſuffered; proteſting, that he "was not the cauſe of them, but deſired ar-"dently that peace which *Jeſus Chriſt* re-"commended to *Chriſtians*; and that it was "his Enemies which forced him to make that "War, which of himſelf he deteſted, as "the ſource and fountain of all crimes and "miſeries.

Part II.

His conſtant keeping his word, and freedom.

His goodneſs.

"miseries. There appeared in his counte-
"nance a certain alacrity, in his discourse a
"vivacity and particular Grace of Spirit, in
"all his actions a resolution and prompti-
"tude which contented the most difficult, and
"animated the most frozen. Though he were
"yet a *Huguenot*, he spoke with respect of the
"Pope and of the Ecclesiasticks, treated the
"Great ones and Gentlemen as his Compa-
"nions, and flattered them with the glory
"of being the right hand of his Estate, and
"the Upholders of the Crown on his head.
"He scarce knew what vengeance was; his
"great heart was without any gall: he par-
"doned injuries, and likewise easily forgot
"them, so as he knew those that had com-
"mitted them did repent, and were disposed
"to do good, or at least to do no more ill.
"It was with these Arms, rather then with
"his Sword, that he vanquished his cruellest
"Enemies, that he forced the most obstinate
"and envenomed hearts to love him, and that
"of the most passionate *Leaguers*, he made
"his most faithful Servants; esteeming it a
"procedure agreeing with the grandeur and
"goodness of a Soveraign, not to lose those
"he might gain; and to withdraw men
"from their faults, rather then ruine them
"in them. See here how he followed ways
quite contrary to those his Predecessors had
taken.

He pardoned injuries, and never knew vengeance.

This reconquered his Kingdom, rather then his Sword.

1591. Divisions and Jea-

After the departure of the Duke of *Parma*, the two Parties, that of the King, and that of the

the League, remained some time in great weakness; and both were equally tormented with that mischief of Divisions and Jealousies: but with this difference, that those on the Kings Party were distinguished by his good Conduct, and those of the League daily increased.

Parties, Jealousies in the party of the League, & that of the King.

There was a furious Jealousie between the Duke of *Nemours* and the Duke of *Mayenne*, Brothers by the Mothers side. Nor was it less between the Duke of *Mayenne* and the Duke of *Lorraine*; and greater much between the same and the *Spaniards*, who raised a thousand traverses against him, by means of the *Sixteen*: for as he could not suffer them for Companions, they could not suffer him as Master; but desired above all things, that the League had another Chief then he.

In the party of the King, three Factions of *Hugonots*, *Catholicks* and Servants of *Henry* III.

In the Party of the King, there was likewise three or four Factions. The first, of the rigid and obstinate *Hugonots*, who would not that the King should speak of permitting himself to be instructed; threatning to abandon him, if he thought of it; and to this effect, observing him continually, and as it were counting all his footsteps. The second, that of the *Catholicks*, who were zealous, or who feigned to be so; these endeavoured to draw him from the *Hugonots*, and murmured when he either gave them Charges or Imployments, or entertained them particularly. The third was that of the Servants and Courtiers of *Henry* the Third, whom the humour of our *Henry* displeased,

Part II. displeased, because he gave them not all they would, and permitted himself not to be led by their fancy. These were for the most part Atheists, and Libertines; nevertheless communicated with the *Catholicks*, and caused much inquietude to the King.

Of these two last Factions joyned together, was a third Party formed. *Charles* Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was called *Cardinal* of *Vendosme*, whilst the old Cardinal of *Bourbon* lived, was the Chief of it: This Prince, vain and ambitious, imagining that the Crown would be conferred on him, if his Cousin *Henry* the Fourth should be excluded, stirred up the Catholicks to press his Conversion, out of the belief he had that the Conscience of that King, and his Affairs not being yet disposed, he could not hearken to it; and would by consequent, by these heedless shifts, be taken for an obstinate Heretick, and oblige the *Catholicks* to abandon him, and after turn on his side. This Faction was the most dangerous affair that ever our *Henry* had to deal with, though he seemed to dispise it, and called those who were of it, *les Tiercelets*, or *the Thridlings*. It shone not out with an unmasked face, nor did ever openly separate it self from the others; yet for that it self it was the more to be feared: but it produced in the end that good, that he was constrained to let himself be instructed, and wrought to his Conversion.

The *Hugonots* solicite the

As for the *Hugonots*, when they saw that he lent an ear to the *Catholick* Doctors, they advised

viſed with themſelves, to the end they might entangle him ſo that he could not eſcape them, that they ought puiſſantly to ſollicite Queen *Elizabeth* and the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, to ſend him great Forces; by whoſe help they believed they might overcome the League, after which there was no need of his Converſion, and in the mean time they would continually keep him as it were beſieged by thoſe ſtronger Forces. In effect, *Elizabeth*, who had zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, intereſted her ſelf very ſtrongly in the Cauſe of this King, daily generouſly aſſiſted him, and ſtrenuouſly ſollicited the *German* Princes to concur with her.

Part II. Proteſtants to ſend *Henry* the Fourth powerful aſſiſtance to hinder him from turning Catholick.

At the ſame time the *Hugonots* preſſed with all their force, that he would grant them an Edict for the Free exercíſe of their Religion: they purſued it ſo ſtrongly, that he was forced to accord it them; and they ſent it to the Parliament ſitting at *Tours*, but they could never obtain it to be confirmed by them, but with theſe words, *by proviſo only*: ſhewing themſelves as much Enemies to this falſe Religion, as they were to the Factions of the League.

An Edict granted to the *Hugonots*.

During this time, Pope *Sixtus* V. died, leaving in the Treaſury of the Church Five Millions of Gold, which he had heaped up. He was much diſguſted at the League, and ſtretched forth his arms as much as he could to our *Henry*, to recal him into the Church; whilſt the League endeavoured to ſhut the

Death of Pope *Sixtus* V.

Part II.

Gates againſt him, that they might exclude him from his Royalty. To *Sixtus* ſucceeded *Urban* VII. who held the Seat only thirteen days: and to that *Urban*, *Gregory* XIV. who being of a violent ſpirit, and a *Spaniard* by inclination, zealouſly embraced the party of the League, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Election of *Gregory* 14.

Enterpriſe of the League, on S. *Denis*, where the Cavalier *d'Aumale* is killed.

I ſilently paſs over divers Enterprizes made both by one Party and the other. *The Pariſians* made one upon St. *Denis*. The Cavalier *d'Aumale*, one of their Chiefs, whom they called, *the Lyon Rampant of the League*, was killed in the midſt of the City, when he had made himſelf almoſt Maſter of it. The King on his ſide, made another attempt upon *Paris*. It was called the Battel of the Flour, becauſe he was to ſurprize the City, under pretext of a Convoy of Flour or Meal carried thither: but it was diſcovered, and obliged the Duke of *Mayenne*, upon the vehement Crys of the *Sixteen*, to receive four thouſand *Spaniards* into the Garriſon; which retarded for more then a year the reduction of *Paris*.

Enterpriſe of the King on *Paris*, called the Battel of the Flour.

It is convenient to underſtand, that neither the one nor the other Party having any foundation to keep continually their Armies on foot, they only (as we may ſay) made War by intervals. When they had been three months together, they retired, and then re-aſſembled again; and according as they were ſtronger or weaker, made their Enterpriſes.

The

The King having Rendezvouzed his, beſieged the City of *Chartres*, where *la Bourdaiſiere* commanded. There was but a ſmall Garriſon within; yet however, the Siege was long, difficult, and bloody. Its length gave ſubject to the third party to continue many dangerous Intrigues: but the taking of that place repreſſed them for ſome time. He reſtored the Government to *Chiverni* Chancellour of *France*, who had had it before the League ſeized it. Part II. *Chartres* beſieged and taken by the King.

After this, the Duke of *Mayenne*, who beheld himſelf in no very good Eſtate, following the Counſel of the Duke of *Parma*, renewed a Conference for Peace; which ending without doing any thing, the Princes *Lorrains*, and the Principal Chiefs of the League, held a general Aſſembly at *Reims*. It was reſolved that they being altogether too weak to reſiſt the King, and wanting money, it was abſolutely neceſſary to unite themſelves more firmly with *Spain* then they had formerly done: and to this effect, they diſpatched the Preſident *Janin* to *Philip* the Second. This Preſident was a man of a ſtrong Brain, and a good *French*-man, who laboured for the League, and for the Duke of *Mayenne*; but who would ſave the Eſtate by ſaving the Religion: ſo that he well endeavoured to ſerve himſelf of the *Spaniard*; but he would not ſerve them, or procure their advancement. Yet we cannot doubt, but as he had his ends, they had likewiſe theirs; and that they deſigned

Preſident *Janin* ſent to *Spain* on the part of the League. The *Spaniards* deſign to profit themſelvs by the ruine of *France*.

Part II. signed to make good their expences laid out for the League, on the Kingdom of *France*.

The *Spaniard* had for Aid and Second in his design, the new Pope *Gregory* the Fourteenth, who yet went on more swiftly, and with more heat then he: for without having regard either to the Letters which *Monsieur de Luxembourg*, after Duke of *Piney*, writ to him on the part of the Princes and *Catholick* Lords which were in the Kings party; or to the submissions, and three humble Remonstrances made him by the Marquess of *Pisany*, who was there at *Rome*, deputed from them; he strenuously embraced the party of the League, entertained Correspondence with the *Sixteen*, receiving Letters from them, and writing to them; and which is more, he prodigally wasted that Treasure which *Sixtus* V. had heaped up, to raise an Army of twelve thousand men, giving the Command to Count *Hercules Sfondrato* his Nephew, whom he made expressly Duke of *Montmarcian*, to authorize him the more by this new Title. He accompanied this Army with a Monitory or Bull of Excommunication against the Prelates which followed the King, and sent it by *Marcelin Landriano* his *Nuntio*, with great quantity of Silver to the *Sixteen* of *Paris*, to be distributed among them, and the Chiefs of the *Cabals* in the great Cities.

Gregory 14. sends an Army to the league

And a Bull of Excommunication against those Prelates follow the King, and money to the *Sixteen*.

The Parliament at *Tours* having had advice of this Monitory, caused it to be torn by the hand of the Common Scavenger, and decreed

decreed an Arreſt againſt the *Nuntio*. That at *Paris*, on the contrary, annulled that Arreſt as being, ſaid they, by perſons without power; and commanded that the holy Father and his *Nuntio* ſhould be obeyed. Part II.

After all, theſe Bulls produced no great effect at preſent; and the Cardinal of *Bourbon* tormented himſelf in vain, to make the Aſſembly of the Clergy, which was held at *Chartres*, declare againſt the Arreſt at *Tours*. Nor did the Army of the Pope do any great Exploits; but was almoſt quite diſperſed, ere it came to render any Service.

Our *Henry* well ſerved by the Count of *Turenne*.

The ſame arrived not to thoſe Troops the King had cauſed to be raiſed in *Germany*, by the Viſcount of *Turenne*. They ſerved the King well in his Affairs, and gained him notable advantages. In recompence, he honoured this Lord with the Staff of Mareſhal of *France*; to render him the more capable to Eſpouſe *Charlotta de la Mark*, Dutcheſs of *Bouillon*, and Soveraign Lady of *Sedan*: who though a *Hugonot*, had been puiſſantly ſought to, both by friendſhip and force, by the Duke of *Lorraine*, who deſired to marry her to his Eldeſt Son the Marqueſs *du Pont*. The King made this Match, to oppoſe a man to the Duke of *Lorraine*, who helped to ſuſtain the League. Of which the new Mareſhal acquitted himſelf, having among other fair Exploits ſurprized *Stenay* the night preceding his Nuptials.

And by the Duke *Leſdigui-* *res*.

The King had another great Captain in

Part II. the *Dauphinate*, which was *Lesdiguieres*; who held that Country, having reduced the City of *Grenoble*; and who saved *Provence* for him, of which the Duke of *Savoy* thought to seize himself, and dismember that piece from the Crown. This Duke being Son-in-law to *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*, the puissance of his Father-in-law had raised his Ambition and Courage, and made him forget that constant affection which his Predecessors have almost continually had for *France*, insomuch that they have held themselves much honoured to be Pensioners to our Kings. But the Conduct and Valour of *Lesdiguieres* made him repent all his high designs, especially by the Battels of *Esparon de Palieres*, and of *Pont-Charra*, where that Duke received as much loss as confusion.

He becomes passionate of the fair *Gabriella*.

About this time, our *Henry* conceived a passion for the fair *Gabriella d'Estrees*; who was of a very Noble house: and that passion by degrees grew so strong, that whilst she lived, she held the Principal place in his heart: so that after having had by her three or four Children, he had almost resolved to marry her, though he knew not how to do it, but by hazarding great troubles, and very dangerous difficulties. Having taken the City of *Noyon*, he gave the Government to Count *d'Estrees*, Father of this fair one; and a little after, gave him likewise the Charge of Great Master of the Artillery, which had formerly been held by *John d'Estrees*, in the year 1550.

Not

Not long after the Siege of *Noyon*, he underſtood the Eſcape of the Duke of *Guiſe*, who after many other attempts, had got at high-noon out of the Caſtle of *Tours*, where he had been in Priſon ſince his Fathers death. The News at firſt no leſs touched the King, then it ſurprized him: he feared this great Name of *Guiſe*, which had given him ſo much trouble; and he doubted leſt this young Prince ſhould re-ingroſs the love of the people, which his Father had poſſeſſed to ſo high a pitch: he was troubled to have loſt ſuch a Gage, which might ſerve him in many things. However, after he had a little meditated, he diminiſhed his apprehenſions, and told thoſe who were about him, "That he had more reaſon to re-"joyce then be troubled: for of force it muſt "happen, that either the Duke of *Guiſe* muſt "take his party; and that if he did ſo, he would "treat him as his Parent and Kinſman: or "that he muſt caſt himſelf into the League; "and then it would be impoſſible that the "Duke of *Mayenne* and he could continue any "long time without contending and becoming "Enemies.

Part II. The Duke of *Guiſe* eſcapes from Priſon.

The judicious reaſoning of *Henry* IV. on his Eſcape.

This Prognoſtick was very true. The Duke of *Mayenne* having ſeen thoſe Rejoycings which all the League teſtified at this News; the Bonefires made in the great Cities, thoſe Actions of thanks which the Pope cauſed publickly to be rendred to God, and the hopes which the *Sixteen* conceived to ſee revived in this Prince the Protection and Qualities of his

Part II. Father, which they had idolatrized: the Duke of *Mayenne*, I ſay, ſeeing all this, was ſtruck with a very ſtrong Jealouſie: and though he ſent him Monies, with entreaties that they might have an Interview: yet notwithſtanding he looked not upon him as a new renforce, but as a new ſubject of inquietude and trouble to him.

The Duke of *Mayenne* becomes jealous of his Nephew.

In effect, this young Prince immediately knit himſelf in firm Bond with the *Sixteen*, and promiſed to take their Protection. By this means, and by the help of the *Spaniards*, they emboldened themſelves in ſuch manner, that they reſolved to loſe the Duke of *Mayenne*, not ceaſing to cry down his Conduct among the people. I have been aſſured, that there was ſome amongſt them who writ a Letter to the King of *Spain*; by which they caſt themſelves into his Arms, and intreated him, if he would not reign over them, to give them a King of his Race, or to chuſe a Son-in-law for his Daughter, whom they would receive with all Obedience and Fidelity. They adviſed themſelves beſides this, to make a new form of Oath for the League, which excluded the Princes of the Blood; to the end they might oblige all ſuſpected perſons, who would not ſwear a thing ſo contrary to their thoughts, to depart out of the City, and to abandon their Goods to them. By this Artifice, they drave away many perſons; among others, the Cardinal of *Gonde*, Biſhop of *Paris*, whom they had begun to hate, becauſe that

The *Sixteen* lean to the Duke of *Guiſe*, and would loſe *Mayenne*.

They write to the King of *Spain*.

They drive the Cardinal of *Gonde* & many others, from *Paris*.

that with ſome Clerks of the City, he honeſtly endeavoured to diſpoſe the people in favour of the King. Part II.

There remained nothing now but to diſſolve the Parliament, who watched them day and night, and ſtopt their Enterprizes. They had purſued the Condemnation of one named *Brigard*, becauſe he had Correſpondence with the Royaliſts; and the Parliament having pardoned him, they were ſo incenſed, that the moſt paſſionate, by Conſpiracy amongſt them, and by their private Authority having cauſed thoſe of their Faction to take Arms, went to ſeize on the perſons of the Preſident *de Briſſon*, and of *de Larcher*, and *de Tardiff*, Counſellors, whom they carried Priſoners to the *Caſtelet*; and after ſome Formalities, one of them pronounced againſt them the Sentence of Death: in execution of which, they cauſed them all three to be hanged at the Window of the Chamber, and on the morrow to be carried to the * *Greve*, to the end they might move the people in their favour: but the greateſt part abhorred ſo damnable an attempt; and even the moſt zealous of the Party remained mute, not knowing whether they ought to approve or blame it.

By a horrible Attempt they cauſe to be hanged the Preſident of *Briſſon*, and two Counſellours.

* *The publick place of Execution in Paris.*

Yet there were ſome of theſe *Sixteen* found ſo determinate as to paſs farther: they ſaid, They muſt finiſh the Tragedy, and rid themſelves of the Duke of *Mayenne*, if he came to *Paris*, he being at preſent at *Laon*: That after that, they might aſſure to themſelves the City,

Some would likewiſe kill the Duke of *Mayenne*, but want he art to do it.

Part II. City, elect a Chief who should depend of them, re-establish the Council of Forty which that Duke had abolished, and demand the Union of the great Cities. And certainly there was some appearance, that having the *Bastille*, of which *Bussy* was Governour, the common people and the Garrison of *Spaniards* for them, that they might render themselves Masters of *Paris*, and afterwards treat at their pleasure, either with the King, or with the Duke of *Guise*, or with the *Spaniards*: but they wanted Resolution. In the mean time, the Duke of *Mayenne* having been in two days doubt whether he should come to *Paris*, because he feared they would shut the Gates against him, at length comes with a warlike attendance; and seeing that the Parliament durst not attempt to make process against these people, he resolved, whatever might arrive, to chastise them himself; and thereupon, without form of Process, in his Cabinet, condemns nine to death. They could catch but four, whom he caused to be hanged in the *Louvre*, the other five saved themselves in *Flanders*. The most remarkable of these five, was *Bussy le Clerc*, who had been constrained to yield the *Bastille* to the Dukes people. He was seen to lead a miserable life in the City of *Bruxels*; yet still to conserve his hatred against the *French*, even to the last gasp, which he breathed forth a little before the last Declaration of War between the two Crowns.

Upon this the Duke comes to *Paris*, and hangs four; which quite quells the Faction of the *Sixteen*.

The terrible blow having quite quelled the Faction

Faction of the *Sixteen*, the Duke made four Presidents of Parliament, there being now none at all; for *Brisson* was remaining alone, the rest being gone to *Tours*. "But he demonstrated by this, that he did not well understand his own interests: for in my opinion, it is impossible that the Parliament and "the Nobility should remain any long time "separate from the King: nor can the force of "a Party contrary to Royalty consist but only "in two things, to wit, the People or the "Souldiery.

Part II. He makes four Presidents of Parliament.

So soon as the King had received the Aid of *England*, and that of the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, he besieged the City of *Rouen*. This was one of the most memorable Sieges of that time. *Villars*, a Provincial Gentleman who was Governour, did wonderful Actions. The Duke of *Parma* came to his assistance, having for that purpose joyned with the Duke of *Mayenne*: but *Villars*, who feared that they would not come in time, and likewise that the Duke of *Mayenne* would deprive him of his Government, if he entred the stronger into his place, endeavoured to relieve himself; and by a Sally, which we may almost call a Battel, drove the Besiegers a good distance from the Walls. The Dukes seeing that, and that he was no more pressed, retired; and *Parma* lodged his Troops about *de Rue* in *Pombieu*. But two months after, *Villars* wanting Victuals, and the Courage of the Burgesses slackning, he was constrained to write to them, that

1592. The King besieges *Rouen*, where *Villars* was Governour.

Great and memorable Sally.

Part II. that they ſhould make haſte to come and relieve him. The Dukes on ſo hot an advice, reaſſembled their Troops in one day, repaſſed the *Soame*; and marching without Baggage, came more then thirty Leagues in four days, though there were on their way four Rivers to paſs.

The City preſſed. *Parma* comes to relieve it.

The King raiſes his Siege, and retires to *Pont de l'Arche.*

Being arrived within a League of *Rouen*, they drew into Battalia, in a Valley on the ſide of *Dernetal.* The King, who was gone to *Diepe*, finding at his return his Army too much weakned to reſiſt thoſe within and without, raiſed the Siege, to his great diſcontent; and having at a Leagues diſtance attended them for twelve months ſpace in Battel-array, he after retired to *Pont de l'Arche.* It was held by many, that had they purſued him, he could difficultly have ſhunned either the fighting of a Battel, or the loſing of it: but the Duke of *Mayenne*, either out of the jealouſie he had of the Duke of *Parma*, or for other Reaſons, was obſtinately of opinion, that it was neceſſary to take *Caudebec*, to open the mouth of the *Seine*, and bring Proviſions to *Rouen.* The Duke of *Parma* was forced to yield to his advice. They took *Caudebec* in four and twenty hours: but *Parma* was wounded in the Arm with a Musket-ſhot, and ſome days after, the Duke of *Mayenne* fell ſick; ſo that both Generals were both at one time in their Litters.

The Duke of *Parma* takes *Caudebec*, and is wounded; and the Duke of *Mayenne* falls ſick.

The Army of the King increaſes,

In the mean time, in five or ſix days, the Army of the King increaſed by three thouſand

and Horſe, and ſix thouſand Infantry, which flocked to his aſſiſtance from the adjacent Provinces; ſo that he was ſtronger then his Enemies by near five thouſand men. Now Fortune turned, he went to ſearch them, and ſhut them up near to *Yvetot*, and cut off all Proviſions from them; ſo that they were conſtrained to diſlodge by night, and go encamp near *Caudebec*. The two Generals being yet in bed, and their Troops very much amazed, the Mareſhal of *Byron* beat up one Quarter; and in the end, defeated their light-Horſe. The Kings Infantry prepared at the ſame time to charge the *Walloon* Foot; which without doubt, in the fear they were in, would have demanded quarter: but *Byron* called them back, for fear, ſaid he, leſt they ſhould engage themſelves between two Quarters of the Enemies. It was believed he did thus, that he might not finiſh the War where he had the principal Command. And ſee here a ſufficient proof of it at another time. The Baron of *Byron* his Son, who was likewiſe afterwards Mareſhal, having demanded of him 500 Horſe; and as many Dragoons, to go and inveſt the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was as it were in a Trap; the Father ſeeing in effect that this Enterprize was infallible, regarding him with an angry look, told him ſwearing, * *How now, Vilain, wouldſt thou have us ſend to plant Cabbages for* Byron? "From hence we may know how Wars come "to be of ſuch continuance; it being for the "intereſt of their Chiefs to prolong them, "becauſe

Part II. & he purſues the two Dukes

Byron beats up one Quarter, but will not quite defeat them.

He would continue the War.

* *A French Proverb, if he ſhould ſay, Would thou have me run my own Fortune*

Part II.

"because they find in them their advantage, "in the same manner as Lawyers do their in "retarding a Process.

Some days after, the Duke of *Parma*, being recovered, re-called to mind all those Inventions and those Stratagems, which he had learnt by a long Experience, and by profound meditation, to retire himself from so ill a condition. He found in the end no other way then to pass the River, and retreat in all haste towards *Paris*. He to this effect caused to be built two Forts, directly opposite to each other, on the Banks of the *Seine*, with Redoubts which commanded on the Water, and greater ones on the outside, which looked towards the Army of the King. By the favour of these Forts, he passed in an obscure night both his Baggage, Cavalry, Infantry, and Artillery, over Bridges of Boats, covered with Planks, which he had made to descend from *Rouen*, whilst the King, who in effect had perceived it too late, could not hinder him. So soon as he had passed, he took his March by the Plains of *Neuf-bourg*, and made such haste, that in four days he arrived at *Pont de Charenton*, not having been able to sleep (as himself avowed afterwards) till he was come into *Brie*.

Wonderful retreat of the Duke of *Parma*, which the King cannot hinder.

Afterwards he led back his Troops to the Low-Countries, covered with glory; for having the second time made a great King raise his Siege when there was least appearance; and having in his sight, deceived the Vigilance and Diligence, passed a great River, or rather an arm

arm of the Sea, without his being able to assault him. Part II.

This Action was so gallant, that our *Henry* could not refrain from wondring at it; esteeming it more glorious then the gain of two Battels. "Acknowledging that the chief work "of a great Captain, was not so much to fight "or overcome, as to do what he enterprizes "without hazarding a Combat.

The King admires the action

We ought not forget, how that the first time that the Duke of *Parma* advanced to the relief of *Rouen*, the King went to meet him with a part of his Army as far as *Aumale*, as well to hinder him from passing that little River, as to take notice of him; and how with four or five hundred Carabines only he stopt for a long time all the Enemies Army, by three or four vigorous Charges. The Duke of *Parma* believed not that the King was there; not judging that he would hazard his person in so dangerous a Post, and with so few Forces: but so soon as he knew that himself was present, he caused all the Carabines to give the Charge, sustained by his light Horsemen. The King seeing his men so pressed, gave two vigorous Charges, during which they drew forth the greatest part of the Baggage out of the Bourg: but all the body of the Dukes Cavalry coming on, the King lost many of his men, and himself ran great danger of being slain, or taken Prisoner; but God permitted that he was only wounded with

A noble and dangerous action of the King at *Aumale*, where he saved his Rereguard.

with a Piſtol-ſhot on the Reins, which had been mortal, if the Bullet had had more force; but it pierced only his cloaths and his ſhirt, and ſomewhat razed the skin. His Valour and his good Fortune, both equally contributed to draw him out of this peril, and to bring, after ſo ſharp a check, both his perſon, and what remained of his Troops, into ſafety.

Grave anſwer of the Duke of *Parma*'s concerning the Kings action.

The Duke of *Parma* admired this Action; but praiſed the Courage which our *Henry* had teſtified, more then his Prudence: for when he was demanded what he thought of this Retreat, he anſwered, "*That in effect* "*it was very gallant; but for his part, he would* "*never bring himſelf into a place where he* "*ſhould be forced to retire.*" This was tacitely "to ſay, that a Prince and a General ought "to ſecure themſelves better. And ſo all the Kings faithful Servants came the ſame evening to intreat him, that he would ſpare his perſon, on which the ſafety of *France* depended. And the Queen of *England*, his moſt faithful Friend, prayed him that he would preſerve himſelf, and at leaſt keep within the terms of a great Captain, who ought not to come to handy-ſtrokes, but in the laſt extremity.

Byron killed at *Eſpernay*.

After the raiſing the Siege of *Rouen*, the greateſt part of the Kings Army paſſed into *Champagne*, in purſuit of the Duke of *Parma*, and laid Siege before the City of *Eſpernay*, and took it. The Mareſhal of *Byron* was killed by a Faulcon-ſhot, which carried away his head

as

as he was viewing the place. His eldeſt Son, who was named the Baron of *Byron*; as great a Captain as the Father, and much loved by the King, was a little after honoured with the ſame Charge of Mareſhal of *France*: but he loſt his Head ſomewhat leſs glorioufly then his Father. Part II.

The Duke of *Mayenne* and the Duke of *Parma* being parted ill ſatisfied one with the other; it was not difficult to renew the Conferences between the firſt and the Royaliſts: however, things were not yet ripe; there were ſome ſeeds ſown, which ſome time after brought forth fruit: for the King conſented that he would within ſix months permit himſelf to be inſtructed by thoſe means which might not wrong either his Honour or his Conſcience. He gave leave likewiſe to the Catholick Lords of his Party, to depute ſome towards the Pope, to let him underſtand the Duties he applied himſelf to, and to intreat him to add his Authority; and that in the mean time, Peace ſhould be daily treated of. Conferences renewed.

The Duke of *Mayenne* and his party demanded Conditions ſo advantagious, that they were ill reſented; and, to ſpeak truth, many things in this Conjuncture did much trouble our *Henry*: that which moſt of all perplexed him, was, that the Duke of *Mayenne* violently preſſed by the Inſtances of the Pope, and the King of *Spain*, by the Remonſtrances of thoſe great Cities which took his party, and The Duke of *Mayenne* calls the Eſtates to *Paris* to elect a King.

Part III. likewise by the necessity of his Affairs, had called the Estates-General to *Paris* to proceed to the Nomination of a King.

The Election of a King would have been the ruine of *Hen.* 4. & *France*.

Now this Nomination had been the indubitable ruine of *France*, and possibly caused the absolute expulsion of our *Henry*. For there was much appearance and likelihood, that all the Catholick Potentates of *Christendom* would have acknowledged that King whom the States should have elected; that the Clergy would have done the like; and that the Nobility and People, who followed not our *Henry* but because he had the Title of King, would not have made Conscience to have quitted him, for another to whom the Estates had granted it.

Expedient which the King finds to hinder this Election.

To the end therefore he might hinder this mortal blow, he wisely advised with himself to propose a Conference of the Lords of his Party, with these pretended Estates. The Duke of *Mayenne* was well content with this Expedient, because he saw well that the King of *Spain* desired that he who should be elected, should espouse his Daughter *Isabella-Clara-Eugenia*; and thus the Election could not regard him, since he was married, and had Children: but likewise out of fear lest they should hearken to an acknowledgment of our *Henry*, he under-hand stirred up some Doctors to say, That this Conference with a Heretick was unlawful; and by vertue of this advice, he wrought in such manner, that the Estates agreed they would not confer with him, neither

ther directly nor indirectly, touching his Eſtabliſhment, nor touching the Doctrine of the Faith; but that they would confer with the Catholicks holding his party, for the good of Religion, and the publick Repoſe. Part II.

The Legat knowing well what this would come to, endeavoured with all his power to hinder the effect of this Deliberation of the Eſtates: but in the end, he was conſtrained to lend his hand to it. The Conference was then concluded; and the Deputies of one part and the other aſſembled at the Borough of *Surene*, near *Paris*.

Conference of *Surene*.

The Eſtates were aſſembled in the month of *January*, in the year 1593. and ſate in the great Hall of the *Louvre*. There were few Noble men, a great number of Prelates, and a ſufficient quantity of Deputies of the third Eſtate, but the moſt part Creatures of the Duke of *Mayenne*, or payed by the King of *Spain*. This Prince, deſiring at any price ſoever to have the Crown for his Daughter, had deſtined to ſend a puiſſant Army into *France*, which ſhould haſten the Reſolutions of the Eſtates: but happily for our *Henry*, the incomparable Duke of *Parma* was dead, and the *Spaniard* had not in the Low-Countries any Captains capable of great things. The Count of *Mansfield* had order to lead his Troops; the Duke of *Mayenne* went to meet him. They re-took *Noyon*, but that was all: afterward they melted away, and became ſo weak, that not daring to paſs any farther, they returned

1593. Eſtates of the league aſſemble at *Paris*.

Mansfield comes with a *Spaniſh* Army, takes *Noyon*, afterwards his Army diſſipates.

Part II. into *Flanders*, where Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau* found them ſufficient imployment.

Byron raiſes the Siege of *Selles* to relieve *Noyon*, but dares not attempt it.

During the Siege of *Noyon*, the young *Byron*, to whom the King had newly given the charge of Admiral, yielded up by the Duke of *Eſpernon* in change for the Government of *Provence*, had beſieged *Selles* in *Berry*, to take that Thorn out of the foot of the City of *Tours*. The King, perceiving that this paltry Town held him too long time, had called him thence to go and relieve *Noyon*; which notwithſtanding he durſt not enterprize. Theſe little diſgraces wonderfully puffed up the hearts of the Kings Enemies, cooled his Friends, and emboldned the Faction. The third party, who had kept under a Covert, now began to move; and likewiſe a Report ran, that there were ſome Catholicks who had conſpired to ſeize the perſon of the King in *Mantes*, under colour of ſnatching him out of the hands of the *Hugonots*; and would carry him to Maſs whether he would or not. He was ſo much affrighted at it, or feigned to be ſo, that he took the field, gathered together his ſureſt friends, and cauſed the *Engliſh* Forces to come and lodge in the Suburbs of *Limay*.

which puffs up the Kings Enemies.

Conſpiracy to ſurprize his perſon.

The Duke of *Feria* brings a Letter to the States General from the King of *Spain*.

At the ſame time the Duke *de Feria*, Ambaſſador from the King of *Spain* to the States-General, arrived at *Paris*: he preſented to them a very civil Letter on the part of his Maſter, and made them a large Speech, by which he exhorted them to expedite the naming of a King; offering them all aſſiſtance both of men

men and monies. In effect, the King of *Spain* passionately desired the chusing of one, because, as we have said, he would give him in Marriage his Daughter *Isabella*, whom he singularly loved. Part II.

It was therefore now time that our *Henry* should either publish to the World that he would persevere in his Religion without wavering, in which case he must resolve on a War, of which possibly he might never see the end; or return into the bosom of the Catholick Church. It was time for the King to convert.

The Spaniolized Leaguers feared above all things this change, which would take from them all pretext: the good *Catholicks* ardently wished it; they only feared lest his Conversion should be feigned: the rigid *Hugonots* endeavoured to divert him; threatning him with the Judgments of God, if he abandoned, said they, the Evangelical Truth. But all Politicians, both of the one and the other Religion, counselled him not to delay it. They told him, that of all Canons, the Canon of the Mass would prove best to reduce the Cities of his Kingdom, they besought him that he would serve himself of it; and to their Prayers, they added Threats to abandon him, and to retire themselves, being wearied with consuming themselves in his Service for the Capricio of some obstinate Preaching-Ministers, who hindred him from embracing the Religion of his Predecessors.

Part II. In fine, God touches him, and he is converted

Besides these humane Motives, God, who is never wanting to those who seek him with submission, cleared his understanding with his holy Lights, and rendred him capable to receive the saving instructions of the Catholick Prelates. This resolution taken, he immediately gives advice of it to the Deputies of the League in the Conference of *Surene*. It cannot be imagined how great was their astonishment, nor how the Duke of *Mayenne* was surprized: for they least of all expected to hear this News.

The *Spaniards* and Legat press the Estates to chuse a King.

The *Spaniards* and the Legat having advice that he was about to convert, pressed the Estates more vehemently to elect a King: and seeing that the *French* would not accept of any but one of their own Nation, they proposed that their King should name a *French* Prince, who should reign wholly and individually with the Infanta *Isabella*.

Grand arrest of the Parliament at *Paris* for the Salique Law.

When the Parliament understood this, and that the Estates were not averse to this Proposition; that great Body, though captive and dismembred, remembring its ancient Vigour, ordained, That Remonstrances should be made to the Duke of *Mayenne*, that he should maintain the Fundamental Laws of the Estate, and that he should hinder the Crown, the Lieutenancy of which was committed to him, from being transferred to Strangers: moreover, declaring null all Treaties made, or that should be made, which should be contrary to that Law of the Estate.

It

It was ſuſpected that this Arreſt was made by Colluſion with the Duke of *Mayenne*; but *Villeroy*, the greateſt States man of the Kingdom, gave this Teſtimony for the Parliament, that it took the counſel from himſelf: *Having no other Motives then thoſe of Honour and Duty, as perſons who would chuſe rather to loſe their lives then be wanting either of the one or the other, by conniving at the renverſement of the Laws of the Realm, of which by their inſtitution they are Protectors, and obliged to maintain them by the Oath given them at their Reception.* Theſe words are all very memorable.

Advantageous teſtimony of *Villeroy* in favour of the Parliament.

The Vigour of this Arreſt, made all thoſe good *French*-men which were in *Paris*, and in the Eſtates, take heart; and at the ſame time the taking of *Dreux*, which the Kings Army forced, cauſed a great aſtoniſhment among the moſt paſſionate *Leaguers*. Nevertheleſs the *Spaniards* ceaſed not to purſue their deſign. The Duke of *Mayenne*, thinking to ſtop their courſe, made exceſſive Demands before any proceed ſhould be made to the Election of a King: but that they might come to their point, they granted him all; and in the end, they declared that their King would name to the Eſtates the Duke of *Guiſe*, to whom he whom give his Daughter in Marriage, and all Forces neceſſary to aſſure him the Crown, if they found it convenient to give him their Suffrages, and elect him.

The King takes *Dreux*.

The *Spaniards* propoſe to the Eſtates to elect the Duke of *Guiſe* and their Infanta.

Part II.

The Duke of *Mayenne* enraged, and his Wife more.

Never was man more aſtoniſhed then the Duke of *Mayenne*, when he ſaw that he ſhould be conſtrained to obey his Nephew, and that his Authority muſt end. His Wife yet more impatient then he, could not refrain from making appear her deſpite and jealouſie; and rather then ſuffer that they ſhould confer the Crown on this young Prince, ſhe counſelled her Husband to make Peace with the King at any price whatſoever. He was in effect reſolved to do all things rather then raiſe his Nephew above himſelf; and therefore he imployed all ſorts of means to hinder him, and to this purpoſe he concluded a Truce with the King, notwithſtanding the oppoſitions of the Legat and *Spaniards*.

He makes Truce with the King.

In purſuance of this Truce, the King came to St. *Denis*; where there met many Prelates and Doctors, by whoſe care he cauſed himſelf to be inſtructed. An Hiſtorian reports, that the King cauſing a Conference to be held before him between the Doctors of the one and the other Church, and hearing a Miniſter grant that one might be ſaved in the Religion of the *Catholicks*, his Majeſty breaking ſilence, and ſpeaking to the Miniſter, *How!* ſaid he, *do you agree that one may be ſaved in the Religion of theſe Gentlemen?* The Miniſter anſwering that he doubted it not, ſo that they lived well; the King very judiciouſly replied; *Prudence will that I ſhould be of their Religion, and not of yours; becauſe being of theirs, I may be ſaved both according to their opinion and yours; but being*

His ſubtile Argument againſt the Miniſter.

being of yours, I can be ſaved only according to your opinion, but not according to theirs: Prudence therefore teaches me to follow the moſt aſſured. And thus after long inſtructions, in which he would amply be cleared in all his Doubts, he abjured his Errour, made profeſſion of the Catholick Faith, and received Abſolution in the Abby-Church of St. *Denis*, in the month of *July*, by the Miniſtery of *Renaud de Beaune*, Archbiſhop of *Bourges*.

He abjures his Errour, & becomes a Catholick.

That Evening the whole *Champagne* between *Paris* and *Pointoiſe* was made ſhine with fires of Joy; and great numbers of *Pariſians*, who had flocked to St. *Denis* to ſee this Ceremony, brought back an entire ſatisfaction, and filled the whole City with eſteem and affection for the King; inſomuch that they called him no longer *Bearnois*, but abſolutely King.

The Eſtates of *Paris* ſate no long time after. The Duke of *Mayenne* diſmiſſed the Deputies, who the moſt part returned ill ſatisfied into their Provinces, where they ſerved not a little to diſpoſe them to reduce themſelves under the Obedience of their Legitimate Soveraign.

The Duke of *Mayenne* diſmiſſes the Eſtates

There reſted now no other pretext to the League, except that the King had not received Abſolution from St. *Peter*'s Chair, that therefore he was not yet in the bounds of the Church, and that they could not acknowledge him until he was entred at the great Gate.

He

Part II. The King sends the Duke of *Nevers* to *Rome*, to have absolution of the Pope.

He had sent the Duke of *Nevers* to *Rome*, to Negotiate this Affair with the Pope; who was very much incensed, that the Prelates of *France* had enterprized to absolve him, though they had not absolved him, but by provision, *ad Cautelam* only: for he said, that he alone had authority to restore a relapsed person, as having the only Soveraign power to bind and to loose; and for this cause, he appeared so difficult, nor could ever be bended, till he saw the party of the League quite overthrown.

The Pope shews himself very difficult.

1594. Now since the life and actions of the King, made it appear that his Conversion was not feigned, the League having no other valuable pretext, was dug up, as we may so say, by the very foundation; so that before the end of the year, it fell to the ground, and there remained to it only a very small number of places in the utmost parts of the Realm, the other Chiefs not being willing to run to the end the Fortune of the Duke of *Mayenne*. This Prince was very irresolute, and knew not what he ought to do, as well because of his natural slowness, as out of the regret he had to quit the Soveraign Authority, which he had in his hands, and out of fear likewise not to find safety with the King.

The League falls in less then a year.

Meaux, *Aix*, *Lyons*, *Orleans*, & *Bourges*, surrender to the King.

In the mean time, *Vitry* desiring to be the first should re-enter under his Obedience, as he had been the first had separated from it, brought back the City of *Meaux*. The Count of *Carces* delivered that of *Aix* in *Provence*.

Lyon

Lyons ſurrendred of it ſelf; of which the Duke of *Mayenne* was in part cauſe, by having endeavoured to make himſelf Maſter of that City, and ſnatch it from the Duke of *Nemours*, his Brother by the Mothers ſide, who intended to eſtabliſh a ſmall Soveraignty in that Country. That he might compaſs his deſign, he had by ſecret Contrivances made the Burgeſſes riſe againſt that young Prince; ſo that they having ſeized of his perſon, had made him a Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Pierre-Enciſe*. But he found that in this he more laboured for the King then for himſelf: for the Burgeſſes, who had made Priſoners the Duke of *Nemours*, fearing leſt the Brothers ſhould agree among themſelves to their prejudice, treated ſecretly with Colonel *Alfonſo d'Ornano*, Lieutenant-General for the King in the *Dauphinate*, and being well fortified, took the White-ſcarff, and cryed, *Vive le Roy*. The Caſtle likewiſe returned to its duty, with the Cities of *Orleans* and *Bourges*. The Reduction of *Paris* happened on the two and twentieth day of *March*. The Parliament, the Provoſt of the Merchants, and the Sheriffs, having diſpoſed this great City, received the King, maugre the vain endeavours of ſome remnant of the Faction of the *Sixteen*. The Duke of *Mayenne* was gone into *Picardy*; and *Briſſac*, to whom he had confided the Government of *Paris* for ſome months paſt, having taken it from the Count of *Belin*, broke his Faith with him; believing

Part

Reduction of *Paris*.

lieving he ought it rather to the King then him.

The King had a little before cauſed himſelf to be anointed at *Chartres*, with the Cruſe of St. *Martin* of *Tours*. The City of *Rheims* was yet in the hands of the League; but he would not longer defer his Coronation, becauſe he knew that that Ceremony was abſolutely neceſſary to confirm to him the affection and reſpect of his people.

It was almoſt a miracle, how that there being four or five thouſand *Spaniards* Engarriſoned in *Paris*, and ten or twelve thouſand factious perſons remaining of the *Cabal* of the *Sixteen*, who all cruelly hated the King, he could nevertheleſs render himſelf Maſter of it, without ſtriking ſtroke, or without ſhedding blood, except that of five or ſix Mutineers, who came into the ſtreets to cry to Arms. His Troops having by Intelligence ſeized on the Gates, Ramparts, and publick places, he entred triumphanty into the City by the new Gate, by which *Henry* the Third had unhappily fled ſix years before, and went directly to *Noſtredame*, to hear Maſs, and cauſe *Te Deum* to be ſung: afterward he returned to the *Louvre*, where he found his Officers, and his Dinner ready; as if he had always remained there.

After Dinner he gave the *Spaniſh* Garriſon a ſafe Conduct, and a good Convoy, to conduct them as far as the Tree of *Guiſe* in all ſecurity: for ſo thoſe had deſired, who brought

brought them into the City. The Garriſon departed about three a Clock, the ſame day of his Entrance, with twenty or thirty of the moſt obſtinate Leaguers; who choſe rather to follow Strangers, then obey their Natural Prince. He would needs ſee them depart, and regarded them paſſing from a Window by St. *Denis* Gate: they all ſaluted him with their Hats very low, and with a profound inclination: he returned the Salutes to their Chiefs with great Courteſie; adding theſe words, *Recommend me to your Maſter; go in a good hour, but return no more.*

Part
He ſees the Garriſon depart; and what he ſays to them.

The ſame day that he entred into *Paris*, the Cardinal *de Pelleve* Archbiſhop of *Sens*, a paſſionate Leaguer, expired in his Palace of *Sens*. The Cardinal of *Placentia*, Legat from the Pope, had ſafe-Conduct to retire home; but he died by the way. *Briſſac*, for recompence had the Staff of Mareſhal, and a place of Honourable Counſellor to the Parliament: a favour very rare in that time. *D'O* was replaced in his Government of *Paris*, which he had had under *Henry* the Third: but he enjoyed it not long, dying ſoon after. That part of the Parliament which was at *Tours* was re-called, and that which was at *Paris* re-enabled (for it had been interdicted) and both re-united to ſerve conjoyntly the King.

Parlia-
ment at *Tours* re-
called to *Paris*.

By noon of that day on which our *Henry* entred *Paris*, the City was every where peaceable; the Burgeſſes in a moment grew familiar

The Cit
rejoyce
and are
peaceal

familiar with the Souldiers, the Artificers worked in their Shops: In a word, the Calm was ſo profound, that nothing interrupted it, but the Ringings of the Bells, the Bonfires, and the Dances which were made through all the ſtreets, even till Midnight. It is certain, that that which cauſed this Joy and wonderful tranquillity, was the great opinion which the people had conceived of the generous goodneſs of this Prince, and the Commands he gave for the orderly Government of his Souldiers.

There were two Actions which he did the ſame day he entred *Paris*, worthy obſervation, proceeding from an admirable Juſtice, Goodneſs, and Policy.

The firſt was, that he ſuffered the Baggage of *la Noue*, one of his principal Chiefs, to be Arreſted at his entring into *Paris*, by the Serjeants, for the Debts of his Father contracted in his Service: and when *la Noue* went to complain to him of this inſolence, he anſwered publickly: *La Noue, you muſt pay his debts, for I pay likewiſe thoſe of mine.* "But after that, "he took him apart, and gave him ſome preci- "ous Stones to engage to his Creditors, inſtead "of the Baggage which they had ſeized. Was "there ever a more wonderful Goodneſs, or "more exact Juſtice?

The ſecond is, that the ſame Evening he played at Cards with the Dutcheſs of *Montpenſier*, who was of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, and the moſt vehement Leagueſs of the Party.

What

What could be ſeen of more Policy? Part II.

After this Reduction of *Paris*, the other Cities and their Governours haſtened likewiſe to conclude their Treaties. *Villars* made his for *Rouen*; ſo gaining to himſelf the Government in chief of this City and Bailiwick, and that of the Country of *Caux*, with the Charge of Admiral, which he was to take out of the hands of *Byron*, for that of Mareſhal of *France*, twelve hundred thouſand Livres of preſent Money, and ſixty thouſand Livres of Penſion. At the ſame time, or little after, *Montreuil* and *Abbeville* in *Picardy*, *Troyes* in *Champagne*, *Sens* and *Riom* in *Auvergne*, *Agen*, *Marmande*, and *Villeneuve d'Agenois* rendred themſelves obedient; and their Governours had all they could demand of the King. The City of *Poictiers*, and the Country thereabouts, treated likewiſe by means of its principal Magiſtrates; and the Marqueſs of *Elbeuf*, Governour for the League, ſeeing he could not hinder the Revolution, permitted himſelf to be drawn in with them, and compoſed with the King, who left him the Government of that Province.

Reduction of *Rouen*, *Abbeville*, *Troyes*, *Sens*, &c.

In the mean time, the Count *Mansfield* entred into *Picardy*, to endeavour to ſuſtain the League, which was in a very low condition, and took *la Cappelle*. The King in revenge laid Siege to *Laon*, and took it by Capitulation, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the Duke of *Mayenne* to relieve it.

La Cappelle taken by *Mansfield* and *Laon* by the King.

Balagny with his City of *Cambray*, renounced

Balagny turns to the King's

Part II. party with his City of *Cambray*.

ced likewiſe the League, and promiſed Service to the King. He had called himſelf Soveraign of this City, and had held it from the time that *Henry* the Third's Brother, (the Duke of *Alenſon*) had uſurped it from the Baron of *Inchi*, who in the great Rebellion of the Low-Countries, had quitted the Obedience of *Spain*, to embrace his party. In like manner, the Cities of *Beauvais* and *Peronne* renounced the League, as did likewiſe that of *Amiens*, ſhaking off the yoke of the Duke of *Aumale*: There reſting to that party in all *Picardy*, only *Soiſſons*, *la Fere* and *Ham*. And which was much more, the Duke of *Guiſe* ſhook off the Duke of *Mayenne*, and brought the Cities of *Rheims*, *Vitry*, and *Mezieres* under the Kings obedience; who in recompence of it, gave him the Government of *Provence*, from which he was obliged to withdraw the Duke of *Eſpernon*, becauſe the People, the Parliament, and the Nobility, had taken Arms againſt him.

Reduction of *Amiens*, *Beauvais*, and *Peronne*.

The Duke of *Guiſe* compounds with the King.

And likewiſe the Duke of *Lorraine*.

The Duke of *Lorraine* likewiſe, who negotiated his Peace by the intermiſſion of *Baſſompierre*, concluded it the twenty ſixth of *November*. But neither the Example of this Duke, chief of the Houſe of *Lorraine*, nor the general Revolution of that party, could oblige the Duke of *Mayenne* to withdraw himſelf from that danger, wherein he was ready to be overwhelmed: he could not abandon that fair Title of Lieutenant-General of the Crown, but flattered himſelf with the hopes

The Duke of *Mayenne* remains alone, and retires into *Bourgogne*.

hopes that the assistance of *Spain* might again give his Affairs the upper hand. He was retired into his Government of *Bourgongne*, because that remained yet most entire to him, though to keep to himself *Dijon*, he was forced to make use of an odious cruelty, in cutting off the head of the Mayor, and another, who laboured to reduce it to the Kings Service. Part II.

1595. The King declares War against the *Spaniards.*

Now since it was the *Spaniards* who maintained him in his obstinacy, and who made War against the King in his name; it was proposed and agreed in the Council, to assault them with an open War; to the end that being imployed at their own homes, they might lose the desire and leisure of coming to disquiet the King in his. For they not only assaulted him by force of Arms, and by practices which encouraged the people in Rebellion; but moreover they would have had his life, and endeavoured to murder him, by base and execrable ways. They contrived or favoured many Conspiracies against his Sacred person, which were well discovered. Those two which made most noise, was that of one *Peter Barriere*, and that of *John Castel*.

Two Attempts on his person.

Of *Peter Barriere.*

The first was a Souldier aged about twenty seven years, who being discovered at *Melun*, in the year One thousand five hundred ninety three, as he sought the execution of his detestable blow, was condemned to have his right hand burned, holding the Knife with which he should have struck the King; after

Part II. to have his flesh torn off with burning Pinsers, and to be broken on the Wheel alive.

and of *John Castel.* The second was a young Scholar aged about eighteen years, Son of a Merchant-Draper of *Paris*, keeping Shop before the Palace: this Villain about the end of the year fifteen hundred ninety four, having thrust himself with the Courtiers into the Chamber of the fair *Gabriella*, where the King was, would have struck him with a Knife into the belly; but by good Fortune the King then bowing to salute some one, the blow chanced on his face only, piercing his upper lip, and breaking a Tooth. It was not known for the present who had struck it: but the Count of *Soissons* seeing this young man affrighted, stopt him by the arm. He impudently confessed that he had given the blow, and maintained that he ought to do it. The Parliament condemned him to have his right hand burned, his flesh torn off with red-hot Pinsers, and after to be torn in pieces by four Horses: This detestable Parricide not shewing any sign of pain; so much had they inprinted in his spirit, that he would offer a Sacrifice acceptable to God, by taking out of the World a Prince relapsed and Excommunicate. The Father of this miserable Villain was banished, his House before the Palace demolished, and a Pyramide erected in its place.

Jesuites exiled the Kingdom. The *Jesuites* under whom this Miscreant had studied, were likewise accused for having instructed

instructed him with this pernicious Doctrine; and they having many Enemies, the Parliament banished the whole Society out of the Kingdom by the same Arrest of their Scholar. Yet these Fathers were not wanting, notwithstanding that the times were contrary to them, to labour to sustain their Honour; but writ many things to justifie themselves against their Charge. And truly those who were not their Enemies, did not at all believe the Society culpable: so that some years after the King revoked the Decree of Parliament, and recalled them, as we shall mention hereafter. Part II.

The success of the War declared against *Spain*, was much different from that which the King maintained against the League: and made it apparent, "That it is another thing "to assault a Stranger equal in puissance, over "whom nothing is to be gained but by force of "Arms, then to have to do with rebellious "Subjects, and in ones proper Country, where "Intrigues and Intelligences make more then "one half of the Enterprize.

This year the Cities of *Beaune*, of *Auton*, and of *Aussonne* reduced themselves under the Kings Obedience. Those of *Mascon* and *Auxerre* were returned the year before. The City of *Dijon* followed their Example, and fortified it self against the Castle which *Byron* went to besiege. But in the mean time the Constable of *Castile* descended with a great Army of *Millanois* into *Bourgongne* by the French

Reduction of *Beaune*, *Auxerre*, and *Dijon*, &c.

Part II. *French County*, and passed the *Saone* at *Gray* with the Duke of *Mayenne*.

The King goes into *Bourgongne* against the *Spanish* Army

The King who was gone into that Country, had the assurance to advance as far as *Fountain-Francoise*: it was there that with only fifteen hundred men, he made head against that great Army, and did an Exploit of War scarce imaginable. *Villars-Oudan* and *Sanson*, two of the Principal Chiefs of the Enemies Army, charged furiously on his Troops: *Villars* charged a Body commanded by the Mareshal of *Byron*, and *Sanson* another on the side of it: they made them both give ground and retreat, flying within sight of that of the King. It was reported, that *Villars* knowing he was there, so puissant is the name of a King, durst not assault him, but retired on the left hand: but *Sanson* was not so happy; for the King having with him but one hundred Horse, but all chosen Gentlemen of note, and mounted to advantage, with his Sword in his hand mingled amongst them, and cut them in pieces. *Sanson* endeavouring to rally his people lost his life, by acquitting no small Honour.

Battel of *Fountain-Francoise*.

where the King shews his valor; but is in danger of his life.

The King was in so great danger in this fight, that he said himself, "That in other "occasions wherein he had been ingaged, he "had fought for Victory, but that in this he "had fought for his Life.

The *Spanish* Army retire.

Having therefore made the Constable by this occasion see in what manner he was to act, he so much abashed his Courage, that he durst enter-

enterprize nothing; but a little after, retired. The Duke of *Mayenne* likewiſe deſpairing at ſuch ill ſucceſs, and not knowing longer where to hide his head, had reſolved to retire to *Sommerive* in *Savoy*; from whence he would ſend to demand ſafe-Conduct into *Spain*, to give an account of his Actions to King *Philip* the Second. But the goodneſs of the King took care to divert him from this Pricipice, and to lay open to him ways of Accommodation. He to this effect ſent to ſeek the *Lignerac* his Confident; entertained him of the good will he always had for that Duke; teſtified to him, that he pitied him; and aſſured him, that he would be always diſpoſed to receive him into his favour; permitting him to retire in all ſafety to *Chalons* on the *Saone*, till they could finiſh a Treaty of Accord.

Part II.

The Duke of *Mayenne* deſpairing, would retire into *Savoy*.

The King hath pity of him, & offers him an accommodation and place of retreat.

The Duke accepts this favour; and having underſtood that the Pope was diſpoſed to receive the King into the Church, he demanded a general Truce for the reſt of his party.

The greateſt part of the Kings Council, who conſidered the Delays and Artifices which he had for ſix years uſed, having begun fifty Treaties without ever concluding any, adviſed that the King ſhould grant him no intermiſſion, but purſue him to the utmoſt. But the prudence and goodneſs of the King conformed not with this Sentiment, becauſe he was not ignorant of two Maximes, which are moſt true ones: the one, *That Kings may always, when they pleaſe, reduce the moſt rebellious*

Part II.

to their duty; the other, *That it is very dangerous to make great persons despair, especially persons of the quality of the Duke of* Mayenne. And for these Reasons, of his proper motion, contrary to the advice of his Council, he granted him a Truce. That which followed after, demonstrated well that this sage Prince had more knowledge then all his Ministers; and how prejudicial it would have been to his interests to do the contrary.

He grants him a Truce.

La Fere & *Ham* delivered to the *Spaniards*;

In the mean time, of those three Cities which we have said, remained to the League in *Picardy*, to wit, *la Fere*, *Ham*, and *Soissons*, the Governour of the first, named *Colas*, had delivered it to the *Spaniards*; and *d'Orvilliers* had done the same with *Ham*. However, this last remained not theirs; *Humieres*, one of the bravest Gentlemen of those times, came; and at the same hour so hotly assaulted it, that after a long and bloody Defence, they were hewen in pieces: but *Humieres* was killed, and more then two hundred brave Gentlemen with him.

who are cut in pieces at *Ham*. *Humieres* killed.

Many Leaguers despairing, cast themselves into the *Spaniards* arms: Amongst others, *Rosny*, who causeth the taking of *Dourlens*.

This loss did in such manner excite the indignation of the Loyal *French* against the *Leaguers*, that the greatest part of them despairing, fled into the Low-Countries, and into *Spain*, where they found at first a favourable Reception, and good Imployments; by which they did very great mischief to *France*. Amongst others was a valiant Captain named *Rosny*; who, imagining that they would extend their utmost rigour upon such, who not being

being Governours, had no places to buy their Peace with, resolved to make the War so well, that the *Spaniards* should have cause to recompense him, or the King to redeem him. Part II.

This was he who inspired the Count of *Fuentes* with the design to besiege *Cambray* after he had forced *Cattelet*, and who perswaded him to facilitate this great Enterprize to take *Dourlens* first, to the end the *French* might not bring an Army to relieve it. It was likewise by his counsel that *Fuentes* went to meet the Duke of *Nevers*, the Mareshal of *Bouillon*, and the Admiral *Villars*, who came to the relief of *Dourlens*: that he fought them, and defeated them with a great slaughter of the *French* Nobility, and caused *Villars* to be slain in cold blood; one of the bravest men of his time. Afterwards returning to *Cambray*, he took it by Famine, and despoiled *Balagny* of his pretended Principality.

Battel of *Dourlens*.

Villars slain.

Cambray taken by the *Spaniards*.

But News most important, and long time expected, comforted the King for these two great losses of *Dourlens* and *Cambray*: which was, that he received advice, that the Holy Father, passing by all those difficulties which the *Spaniards* formed, had granted his Absolution on the sixteenth of *September*, by the Negotiation and pursuits of *d'Ossat* and *du Perron*, his Procurers in the Court of *Rome*; who were afterwards, upon his Recommendation, honoured with Cardinal Caps.

The Pope absolves the King.

After this, the Duke of *Mayenne*, having no more Excuses, nor more Hopes longer to subsist,

The Duke of *Mayenne* in the end makes his

Part II. Treaty with the King.

sist, resolved to treat. It was very late; and he could not well expect other then an utmost rigour, if the Generosity of the King had not been greater then his obstinacy. It is most true, that the fair *Gabriella*, very officious to those who sued for his favour, and being at present in hopes to create her self friends and supports to come to the Marriage of the King, to which she aspired, did not a little assist to obtain a most favourable Accommodation. Certainly the terms of the Edict which the King granted him, and the Conditions, are so honourable, that never Subject had greater Advantages from any King of *France*: but they had been greater, if that before his party had been so much ruined, he had treated for those great Cities who yet held him as their Chief, and whom by this means he might still have kept firm to his interests.

Hath advantagious Conditions.

He comes to *Monceaux* to salute the King.

Some time after, he came to *Monceaux* to salute the King, who seeing him coming along an Alley where he was walking, advanced some paces towards him with all Alacrity and good Countenance possibly; and thrice straitly embracing him, assured him, that he esteemed him so absolute a man of Honour, that he doubted not of his word; treating him with as much freedom, as if he had always been his most faithful Servant. "The Duke surprized "with his goodness, said at his departure, "That it was now only that the King had "compleatly vanquished him. And he ever after as well remained in the duty of a most faithful

faithful Subject, as the King ſhewed himſelf a good Prince, and exact Obſerver of his word. Part II.

At the ſame time that this Duke had concluded his Treaty, and obtained an Edict from the King which confirmed it, the Duke of *Nemours* his Brother by the Mothers ſide, and who was called Marqueſs of St. *Sorlin* whilſt the brave Duke of *Nemours* his elder Brother was living, by the means of his Mother, reconciled himſelf likewiſe to the King, and brought under his Obedience ſome little places which he yet held in *Lyonnois* and in *Forez*.

The Duke of *Nemours* reconciled likewiſe.

His elder Brother, one of the moſt noble and generous Courages was ever known, died the year before of a ſtrange malady, which made him vomit through the mouth, and through all his pores, even to the laſt drop of his blood. Were it that this malady happened to him out of his extreme grief, when he was ſhut up in the Caſtle of *Pierre-Enciſe*, to hear of the Surrendry of *Vienne*, which was his ſureſt Retreat; or were it cauſed by a ſharp and ſcalding poyſon, reported to be given him by thoſe who feared his reſentment; he died without being married; and his younger Brother, of whom we ſpeak, was Father to thoſe *Meſſieurs de Nemours*, whoſe deaths we beheld in the years laſt paſt.

His elder Brother died of a ſtrange diſeaſe.

1596. The Duke of *Joyeuſe*, who after the death of his younger Brother, ſlain in the Battel of *Villemur* near *Montauban*, had quitted his Habit of Capuchin to make himſelf chief of the League

The Duke of *Joyeuſe* makes his Treaty with the King.

Part II. League in *Languedoc*, and had maintained the City of *Tolouſe* and the neighbouring Countries on his party, took likewiſe this time to make his Accommodation, and obtained very favourable Conditions, by the means of Cardinal *de Joyeuſe* his other Brother: among other things, he had the Staff of Mareſhal of *France*. The Lord of *Boiſdauſin* had the ſame recompence, though he had no more then two little places in *Mayne* and *Anjou*; to wit, *Sable* and *Caſtle-Gontier*: the King granting him this good Treatment, rather in Conſideration of his Perſon then his Places.

And the Lord of *Boiſdauſin*.

Reduction of *Marſeilles*.

There were now no more to reduce, beſides the Duke of *Mercœur* and *Marſeilles*. This City was governed by *Charles de Caſaux* Conſul, and by *Lewis d'Aix* the *Viguier* or Judge. As theſe two men were upon the point to deliver it to the *Spaniards*, a Burgeſs named *Libertat*, with a Band of his Friends, cauſed the Inhabitants to riſe againſt them; and having killed *Caſaux*, and driven out *Lewis d'Aix*, put it in full Liberty under the Obedience of the King.

The King grants a Truce to the Duke of *Mercœur*.

As for the Duke of *Mercœur*, the King granted him a prolongation of the Truce, becauſe he was not in capacity at preſent to go ſo ſoon to diſpoſſeſs him of the reſt of *Brittany*, being much hindred by the Siege of *la Fere*, where he was in priſon, and where he had made little progreſs in three or four months. Moreover, it happened when he leaſt thought of it, that the Arch-Duke *Albert*, who com-

Archduke *Albert* takes Calais.

manded

manded the *Spaniſh* Army, incited by the counſels of that *Roſny* of whom we have ſpoke, came to fall upon *Calais*; and that *Roſny*, who was a great Captain, having at firſt took the Forts of *Risban* and *Nieule*, the *Spaniards* forced the place on the 24. of *April*, and put all to the Sword. A little after, the King took *la Fere*, which ſurrendred for want of Victuals. The *Spaniards* having made the Treaty, would have no Hoſtages from him; ſaying, "That "they knew he was a generous Prince, and of "good credit: a Teſtimony ſo much the more glorious for him, becauſe coming from the mouth of his Enemies. Part II. Taking of *la Fere* by the King.

The grief which he had for the loſs of *Calais*, was redoubled by that of the Cities of *Guines* and *Ardres*; which were likewiſe taken by the Induſtry and Valour of *Roſny*, who had done many ſuch other Exploits, if ſome months after he had not been killed, happily for *France*, at the Siege of *Hulſt* near to *Gaunt*. The Archduke takes likewiſe *Guines* and *Ardres*.

Now the noiſe of theſe four or five great loſſes received one upon another, caſt ſome terrour into the hearts of the people; and the Emiſſaries of *Spain* excited, as much as they could, new ſeeds of diviſion in their ſpirits; ſerving themſelves to that purpoſe of all ſorts of pretexts, but above all, of that of the oppreſſion of the people. Truly it was great; but it was cauſed by the Pillages of War, and by the neceſſity of Affairs, rather then the Kings fault; who had no greater deſire then to procure the eaſe of his Subjects, as we ſhall ſee.

This

Part II. This caſt him into a great affliction and trouble, becauſe he had no Treaſure to continue the War; and he foreſaw by the murmurs already excited, that if he cruſhed the people more, he ſhould raiſe againſt himſelf a new tempeſt. In this trouble, he had recourſe to that great Remedy accuſtomed to be practiſed when *France* is in danger; which is, the Convocation of the Eſtates: but becauſe the preſſing neceſſity gave him not time to aſſemble them in a full body, he called only the Chiefs of the Peers of his Eſtate, of the Prelates, and of the Nobility, with the Officers of Juſtice, and of the Revenues.

The King to have money, calls an Aſſembly of the Chiefs to *Rouen*.

He deſired that the Aſſembly ſhould be held at *Rouen*, in the great Hall of the Abby of St. *Ouen*: in the midſt of which, he was ſeated in a Chair elevated in form of a Throne, with a Cloth and Canopy of Eſtate. On his ſides, were the Prelates and Lords; behind, the four Secretaries of Eſtate; beneath him, the firſt Preſidents of the Soveraign Courts, and the Deputies of the Officers of Juſtice, and of the Revenues. He made his Overtures to them by a Speech worthy a true King; "who ought "to believe that his Greatneſs and Authority "conſiſts not only in an abſolute power, but "in the good of his Eſtate, and the ſafety of "his people.

The manner of their ſitting.

His Speech.

If I ſhould account it a glory (ſaid he to them) *to paſs for an excellent Orator, I ſhould have brought hither rather good words then good will; but*

but my ambition tends to ſomething higher then well-ſpeaking; I aſpire to thoſe glorious Titles of Redeemer and Reſtorer of France. *Already, by the favours of Heaven, by the counſels of my faithful Servants, and by the Sword of my brave and generous Nobility (from which I diſtinguiſh not my Princes, the Quality of Gentleman being the faireſt Title we poſſeſs) I have delivered it from Slavery and Ruine. I deſire at preſent to reſtore it to its former force, and to its ancient ſplendour. Participate, my Subjects, in this ſecond glory, as you have participated in the firſt. I have not called you hither as my Predeceſſors have done, to oblige you blindly to approve my will: I have cauſed you to be aſſembled to receive your counſels, to believe them, to follow them; and, in a word, to put my ſelf in Guardianſhip under your hands. This is a deſire which ſeldom poſſeſſes Kings grey hair'd and victorious like my ſelf: but the love I bear my Subjects, and the extreme deſire I have to conſerve my Eſtate, makes me find all things facile and honourable.* Part II.

The Aſſembly, moved even to the bottom of their hearts by ſuch tender words, labour-ed with affection to find wherewith to continue the War: and to this effect they ordained ſhould be gathered one years payment of all Officers Salaries; and that for two years only there ſhould be impoſed one *Sol per Livre* on all which entred into the walled Cities, except only for Corn, which is the nouriſhment The A ſembly grant ney fo the W

Part II. ment of the poor. This laſt means cauſed much trouble in the Provinces beyond the *Loire*. But *Roſny*, whom the King had ſome months before made Superintendant, no leſs able then faithful, as we ſhall ſpeak otherwhere, joyned to this ſtock a great ſum of money which the Receivers had diverted, and which he made return to the Kings Coffers.

King of *Spain* deſires the Peace.

In the mean time, the King of *Spain* finding the forces both of his body and mind to diminiſh by a languor, which after degenerated into a horrible malady, feared leſt his weakneſs ſhould cauſe Revolts in his Countries ſo diſtant one from the other. Moreover, he had expended his Revenues, and paſſionately deſired to give the Low-Countries to his deareſt Daughter *Iſabella*: and for theſe Reaſons had made known to the holy Father, that he deſired peace; and his Holineſs had ſent the General of the *Cordeliers* to diſpoſe him more particularly to it.

Surpriſal of *Amiens* by the *Spaniards*, and Peace.

But now when ſome progreſs was made in it, there happened an accident, which retarded it for more then a year. *Hernand Teillo* Governour of *Dourlens* for the *Spaniard*, being advertiſed of the evil order which the Burgeſſes of *Amiens* kept in the Guard of their City, ſurprized it one morning about nine of the Clock, when they were at Sermon, it being Lent-time, having cauſed the Gate to be peſtred with a Cart laden with Nuts, of which a Sack was purpoſely ſpilt, to amuſe the

the Souldiers of the Guard. So troubleſom news aſtoniſhed the King ſo much the more, becauſe he was at preſent rejoycing and divertiſing himſelf at *Paris*. " He had given order " that all important Packets ſhould be brought " directly to him, and not to others; and that " they ſhould bring him them at what hours " ſoever: ſo that being in a profound ſleep " after dancing a Ball, a Courrier came to wa- " ken him, to tell him this accident. Part II.

He immediately leapt out of bed, and ſent for three or four of his greateſt Confidents, to conſult with them. They all judged that it arrived in a very unhappy Conjuncture, becauſe the Duke of *Mercœur* was powerfully in *Brittany*, the reſt of the Factions being yet concealed under their aſhes, the *Hugonots* making *Cabals* or ſecret Councils; the Conſternation of *Paris* being very great, which beheld it ſelf by this means become a Frontier. But this Heroick Courage whom ſo many perils could not affright, was not ſtartled by this; on the contrary, he reſolved to encounter it at firſt, and go immediately to inveſt *Amiens*, before the *Spaniards* were longer ſetled in it. 1597. The King reſolves to beſiege *Amiens*.

His greateſt Captains were not of this advice: but notwithſtanding that, he, who had greater knowledge and more conſtancy then them all, enterprized it couragiouſly; not ſo much, ſaid he, out of opinion of humane means, as out of the confidence he had in God, who had

Part II. had always done him the grace to assist him. And in truth it may be said, that he assisted him more visibly in this occasion then he had ever done.

Many conspiracies discovered. For he discovered many Conspiracies against his person, amongst the rest, of one under Religious Orders, whom an Agent of the King of *Spain*, as it was said, would have induced to kill him; and very dangerous *Cabals*, which the money of the same King upheld at *Paris*, which observed all his motions, and had designed one day to seize his person at his Castle of St. *Germain* in *Laye*.

The people contribute willingly, and the Leaguers serve him well. Moreover, his people answered as they ought, to his Paternal affection, not denying him any thing that he demanded to hasten the Siege; and all the Leaguers desiring to testifie to him their resentments for all his goodnesses, served him so faithfully and vigorously in this occasion, whilst others wavered, and kept their stations, that he was obliged to say, that he acknowledged that the greatest part of that people hated not his person, but only the *Hugonot* Religion.

The Siege was long, difficult, and doubtful; and if the King of *Spain* would have imployed all his power, the King could never have succeeded in it: but he was become very Melancholy; he desired only repose, and cared no more for Conquests; so that he gave not any of those assistances which the Arch-Duke demanded. The Arch-Duke ceased not however to use the greatest endeavour he could

The Arch-Duke comes to relieve *Amiens*.

could to raiſe the Siege. He preſented himſelf before the Quarter of *Long-Pre* with very great Forces, on a day when he was nor expected, which put the *French* into ſo great a fear and diſorder, that had he know how to ſerve himſelf of the occaſion, and had not loſt time in conſultation, he had put thoſe three thouſand men into the City, which he had deſtined for it. Part II.

His Arrival and aſſaults puts the Kings Army in diſorder.

The King returning from Hunting, whither he was gone, found a general fear throughout his Army, and likewiſe ſome of his principal Chiefs quite daunted. In ſo great a danger, neither his heart nor his head failed him; he diſſembled his fear, gave Orders without paſſion, and ſhewed himſelf every where with a chearful countenance, and with diſcourſes as reſolute as after a Victory. He made his Forces nimbly draw into the field of Battel, which he had choſen three days before, eight hundred paces from the lines. From this place having conſidred the excellent order of the *Spaniſh* Army, the little aſſurance of his, and the weakneſs of his Poſts, where he had not had leiſure to fortifie himſelf, he was a little moved, and doubted of the ſucceſs of the day. When leaning on the Pummel of his Saddle, with his Hat in his hand, and lifting up his eyes to Heaven, he uttered theſe words with a loud voice: *Oh! Lord, if it be to day thou wilt puniſh me as my ſins deſerve, I offer my head to thy Juſtice: ſpare not the Culpable: but, Lord, for thy holy mercies*

The King re-aſſures them.

Words worthy a good and Chriſtian King.

Part II. *cies ſake, take pity of the poor Kingdom; and ſmite not the flock for the offence of the Shepherd.*

It cannot be expreſſed of what efficacy theſe words were: they were in a moment carried through the whole Army, and it ſeemed as if ſome vertue from Heaven had given Courage to the *French*.

The Arch-Duke retires to *Flanders*.

The Arch-Duke therefore finding them reſolved, and in good Countenance, durſt not paſs farther. Some other Attempts he afterwards made, which did not ſucceed; and he retired by night into the Country of *Artois*, where he diſmiſſed his Army. In fine, *Hernand Teillo* being ſlain by a Musket-ſhot, the beſieged capitulated, and the King eſtabliſhed Governour in the City the Seigneur *de Vic*, a man of great Order and exact Diſcipline, who by his Command began to build a Citadel there.

The King re-takes *Amiens*.

The King marches to the Gates of *Arras*, and dares the *Spaniards*.

At his Departure from *Amiens*, the King led his Army to the very Gates of *Arras* to viſit the Arch-Duke; he remained three days in Battalia, and ſaluted the City with ſome Vollies of Cannon. Afterward ſeeing that nothing appeared, he retired towards *France* ill ſatisfied, ſaid he gallantly, with the Courteſie of the *Spaniards*, who would not advance ſo much as one pace to receive him, but had with an ill grace refuſed the honour he did them.

The Mareſhal of *Byron* ſerved him extraordinarily at this Siege: and the King, when he was

was returned to *Paris*, and that thoſe of the City gave him a Reception truly Royal, he told them, ſhewing them the Mareſhal; *Gentlemen, ſee there the Mareſhal* de Byron, *whom I do willingly preſent both to my Friends and to my Enemies.* Part II.

There reſted now no appearance of the League in *France*, but only the Duke of *Merceur*, yet keeping a corner of *Brittany*. The King had often granted him Truces, and offered him great Conditions; but he was ſo intoxicated with an ambition to make himſelf Duke of that Country, that he found out daily new fancies to delay the concluding one; imagining that time might afford him ſome favourable Revolution, and flattering himſelf with I know not what Prophecies, which aſſured him that the King ſhould dye in two years.

The Duke of *Merceur* daily delays concluding his Treaty.

In fine, the King wearied with ſo many protractions, turns his head that way, reſolving to chaſtiſe his obſtinacy as it deſerved. He had been loſt without remedy, if he had not been adviſed to ſave himſelf, by offering his only Daughter to the eldeſt Son of the Fair *Gabriella* Dutcheſs of *Beaufort*; who is at this day Duke of *Vendoſme*.

The King goes into *Brittany*, reſolved to chaſtiſe him.

His Deputies could at firſt obtain nothing elſe, but that he ſhould immediately depart out of *Brittany*, and deliver thoſe places which he held; which done, his Majeſty would grant him Oblivion for all paſt, and receive him into his favour. But the King

Part II. being of a tender heart, and desiring to advance his natural Son by so rich and noble a Marriage, granted him a very advantagious Edict, which was verified in the Parliament, as all those of the Chiefs of the League were. This Accommodation was made at *Angiers*, the Contract of Marriage passed at *Chasteau*, and the Affiances celebrated with the same Magnificence, as if he had been a Legitimate Son of *France*. He was four years old, and the Virgin six.

He gives his daughter to the Kings natural Son, & by this means makes his agreement

The King made Gift to him of the Dutchy of *Vendosme*, by the same right that other Dukes hold them: which the Parliament verified, not without great repugnancy; and with this condition, that it should be no president for the other Goods of the Kings Patrimony, which by the Laws of the Realm were esteemed re-united to the Crown from the time of his coming to it.

By reason of this Marriage, the King gives his Son the Dukedom of *Vendosme*.

1598. From *Angiers* the King would pass into *Brittany*. He stayed some time at *Nantes*; from thence he went to *Rennes*, where the Estates were held: he passed about two months in this City in Feasts, Joys, and Divertisements; but yet ceasing not seriously to imploy himself to hasten the Expedition of many Affairs. "For it is to be observed, that this great Prince "imployed himself all the mornings in serious "things, and dedicated the rest of the day to "his Divertisements; yet not in such manner, "that he would not readily quit his greatest "pleasures, when there was any thing of "importance

He goes to *Nantes* and *Rennes*

"importance to be acted; and he ſtill gave "expreſs order, not to defer the advertiſing "him of ſuch things. Part II.

He took away a great many ſuperfluous Garriſons in this Country, ſuppreſſed many Impoſts, which the Tyranny of many particular perſons had introduced during the War; disbanded all thoſe pilfering Troops, which laid waſte the plain Country; ſent forth the Provoſts into the *Campagne*, againſt the Thieves which were in great number; reſtored Juſtice to its Authority, which Licenſe had weakned; and gathered four Millions, of which the Eſtates of the Country, of their own free will, levied eight hundred thouſand Crowns. So he laboured profitably for theſe two ends, which he ought moſt to intend, to wit, the eaſe of his people, and the increaſe of his Treaſures. "Two things which are in- "compatible when a Prince is not Juſt and a "good Manager, or lets his money be managed "by others, without taking diligent care of his "Accounts. He puts good order in the Province.

Thus was a Calm of Peace reſtored to *France* within it ſelf, after ten years Civil Wars, by a particular grace of God on this Kingdom; by the labour, diligence, goodneſs, and valour of the beſt King that ever was. And in the mean time a Peace was ſeriouſly endeavoured between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*. The two Kings equally wiſhed it: our *Henry*, becauſe he paſſionately deſired to eaſe his people, and to let them Endeavours for a general Peace, and the two Kings wiſh it.

Part II. regain their Forces, after so many bloody and violent agitations; and *Philip*, because he found himself incline to the end of his days, and that his Son *Philip* the Third was not able to sustain the burden of a War against so great a King.

The Deputies met at *Vervin.*

The Deputies of one part and the other had been assembled for three months in the little City of *Vervins*, with the Popes *Nuntio*. Those of *France*, were *Pompone* of *Believre*, and *Nicholas Brulard*, both Counsellours of State, and the last likewise President of the Parliament; who acting agreeably, and without jealousies, determined on the most difficult Articles in very little time; and according to the order they received from the King, signed the Peace on the second of *May*. The 12. of the same month it was published at *Vervin*.

Substance of the Treaty of *Vervin.*

It would be too long to insert here all the Articles of the Treaty: I shall say only, that it was agreed, that the *Spaniards* should surrender all the places they had taken in *Picardy*, and *Blavet* which they yet held in *Brittany*: That the Duke of *Savoy* should be comprehended in this Treaty; provided he delivered to the King the City of *Berry*, which he held in *Provence*. And for the Marquesate of *Saluces*, which that Duke had taken from *France*, towards the latter end of the Reign of *Henry* the Third, that it should be remitted to the Judgment of the holy Father, who was to decide that Controversie in a year.

The

The Publication of the Peace was made on the ſame day through all the Cities of *France*, and the Low-Countries, with thoſe rejoycings, whoſe Rumour ſpread to the utmoſt Bounds of Chriſtendom: but none ſo truly reſented a joy for it, as our *Henry*, who was accuſtomed to ſay, "That it being a thing Barbarous, and "and contrary to the Laws of Nature and "Chriſtianity, to make War for the love of "War, a Chriſtian Prince ought never refuſe "Peace, if it were not abſolutely diſadvanta-"gious to him.

Part II. The Peace publiſhed.

THE THIRD PART OF THE LIFE OF HENRY the Great:

Briefly containing what he did after the Peace of *Vervin*, made in the year 1598. unto his Death, which happened in the year 1610.

1598. The third part of the Life of *Henry* the Great, more calm and more peaceable then the others.

HItherto we have followed the Fortune of our *Henry* through ways craggy and intricate, over Rocks and Precipices, during times very troublesom and full of Storms and Tempests: at present we are about to trace it through paths more easie and fair, in the sweetnesses of calm and quiet Peace; where however his Vertue slept not in his repose, but appeared always active, where his great Soul was imployed without ceasing in the true functions of Royalty; and where, in fine, among his

his Divertiſements, he made his moſt neceſſary and moſt important Employs, his principal pleaſures. Part III.

In the two firſt parts of his Life, which we have ſeen, he was by conſtraint a Man of War and of the Field; in this laſt, a Man of Counſel, and a great Polititian: but in both, invincible and indefatigable. He was a Souldier by conſtraint, but a Polititian by inclination.

The true Duty of a Soveraign, conſiſts principally in protecting his Subjects: he muſt both defend them againſt Strangers, and repreſs the Factions and Attempts of Rebels. It is for this purpoſe that he hath the power of Arms in his hands, and that it is advantagious to him perfectly to underſtand the Myſtery of War. But that comprehends but a part of his Functions; and we may truly ſay, that it is neither the moſt neceſſary nor the moſt ſatisfactory. "For beſides that he may manage "his Wars by his Lieutenants, who doubts "him to be the moſt happy Prince, that go- "verns his Affairs in ſuch a manner, that he "hath no need of his Sword, but is powerful "enough to diſtribute Juſtice, puniſh the "wicked, and to honour and reward deſer- "ving men? to confer graces and recompen- "ces, to keep good order, and conſerve the "Laws? to maintain his Provinces in tran- "quillity, ſuſtain his Reputation and great- "neſs by his good Conduct, inform himſelf "often and diligently of all that paſſes, make "himſelf to be feared by his Enemies, and "eſteemed by his Allies; and, like a Soveraign, himſelf It is neceſſary a King ſhould know war; but beſides that, there are other Functions of Royalty. What thoſe functions are.

Part III. "himself preside in his Councils, receive Ambassadours, and answer them; dispatch great "Affairs by Treaties and Negotiations; prevent all ill, and deprive wicked persons and "Enemies of their power to hurt; encourage "Traffick and the Studies of Sciences and "Noble Arts; to make his Kingdom rich, "flourishing and abundant; to fetch Wealth "from all the Corners of the Earth; but above "all, to procure the glory and service of God, "so that his Kingdom may be as a Paradise "of Delights, and a Harbour of Felicity. "These are, in my opinion, Employs worthy "a potent King, a Christian and wise King; "who, being the Shepherd of his people, (as "*Homer* often calls the great King *Agamemnon*) ought not only know how to drive "away the Wolves, I mean, make War; but "likewise understand how to manage his "Flock, preserve them from Diseases, fatten "and multiply them.

The Peace sworn by the King and Arch-Duke *Albertus.*

The Peace being published with an incredible joy of the *French*, *Flemins*, and *Spaniards*, it was solemnly sworn by the King on the one and twentieth of *June*, in the Church of *Nostre-Dame*, on the Cross and the holy Evangelists, in the presence of the Duke of *Arscot* and the Admiral of *Arragon*, Ambassadors from the King of *Spain* for that purpose: and afterwards Cardinal-Arch-Duke *Albert*, Governour of the Low-Countries for that King, swore it on the six and twentieth of the same month, in the City of *Bruxels*, the Mare-

shal

ſhal *Byron* aſſiſting; whom our *Henry* had newly honoured with the Quality of Duke and Peer, confirmed in Parliament, as well to give more ſplendour to that Embaſſy, as to recompenſe thoſe great ſervices that Lord had rendred him in his Wars. Part III. *Byron* made Duke and Peer, goes to ſwear the Peace in the *Netherlands*.

In this Voyage the *Spaniards* ſpared neither Careſſes nor Prayers to their new Duke, to inſpire him with Pride and Vanity, and intoxicated him in ſuch manner with a good opinion of himſelf, that it put a fancy in his head, that the King ought him more then he would ever know how to give him; and that if his vertue were not ſufficiently honoured in *France*, he would find other places where it ſhould be ſet at a higher price. That which afterwards produced very ill effects. The *Spaniards* poſſeſs him with pride and preſumption.

Many among the *French*, who knew not truly the pitiful eſtate wherein the King of *Spain* and his Affairs were, could not comprehend why this Prince ſhould buy the Peace at ſo dear a rate as the Surrendry of ſix or ſeven ſtrong places; and amongſt others, *Calais* and *Blavet*, which might be called the Keys of *France*. On the contrary, the *Spaniards*, who beheld their King as it were dying, his Treaſury waſted, the Low-Countries ſhattered in pieces, *Portugal* and his Lands in *Italy* on the point to revolt, the Son which he left a good Prince in truth, but who loved repoſe, were aſtoniſhed that the *French*, having ſo bravely re-taken *Amiens*, and re-united all their Forces after the Treaty of the Duke of *Mercœur*, What the *French* & what the *Spaniards* ſaid of the Peace.

Part III. *Mercœur*, had not pressed farther into the Low-Countries, seeing that in all appearance they might either have carried them, or at least sorely shaken them. The King answered, "That if he had desired Peace, it was not be-"cause he was weary of the incommodities of "War, but to give leave to afflicted *Christen-*"*dom* to breathe. That he knew well that "from the Conjuncture wherein things were, "he might have drawn great advantages; but "that God often overturns Princes in their "greatest Prosperities; and that a wise man "ought never, out of the opinion of some fa-"vourable Event, be averse to a good Accord, "nor trust himself too much on the appea-"rance of his present happiness, which may "change by a thousand unexpected Acci-"dents: it having often happened, that a "man thrown down and wounded, hath kil-"led him who would make him demand his "life.

Why the King desired Peace. Excellent words.

It was known in a little time, that King *Philip* the Second had more need of the Peace then *France*; for his sickness was more then redoubled: he had for twenty six days continually a perpetual flux of blood through all the conduits of his body: and a little before his death, he had four Apostumes broke in his Groyn; from whence there tumbled a continual multitude of Vermine, which all the diligence of his Officers could not drain.

Strange sickness & death of *Philip* II. of *Spain*.

In this strange sickness, his constancy was wonder-

wonderful; nor did he ever abandon the reins of his Eſtate, until the laſt gaſp of his Life: for he took care before his death to treat of the Marriage of his Son with *Margaret* Daughter to the Arch-Duke of *Grats*; and that of his dear Daughter *Iſabella*, with the Cardinal-Arch-Duke *Albert*, of the ſame Blood with her; and gave him for Dowry the Low-Countries, and County of *Bourgongne*, on Condition of its Reverſion if ſhe dyed without Iſſue. Part III.

Before his death, he takes care to marry his Son & Daughter.

He had already ſigned the Articles of the Peace: but this mortal ſickneſs permitted him not to give Oath to it with the ſame ſolemnities as the King and Arch-Duke had done. *Philip* III. his Son and Succeſſour acquitted himſelf of this Obligation on the one and twentieth of *May*, in the year 1601. in the City of *Vallidolid*, and preſence of the Count of *Rochepot*, Ambaſſadour of *France*.

His ſickneſs hinders his ſwearing to the Peace.

His Son *Philip* III. doth it after his death.

The Licenſe of the War having for many years permitted miſchiefs with impunity, there were yet found a great number of Vagabonds, who believed it ſtill permitted them to take the Goods of others at pleaſure: and others there were, who thought they had right to do themſelves Juſtice by their Arms, not acknowledging any Laws but Force. This obliged our wiſe King to begin the Reformation of the Eſtate by the Re-eſtabliſhment of publick Security. To this effect, he forbad all carrying of Fire-arms to all perſons of what quality ſoever, upon pain of the Confiſcation of their Arms

The King forbids the carrying of Arms.

Part III. Arms and Horſe, and a Fine of two hundred Crowns for the firſt fault, and of Life without remiſſion for the ſecond: permitting all the World to arreſt any who carried them, except his light-Horſemen, his *Gens d'Armes*, and the Guards of his Body, which might bear them only when they were in Service.

He diſmiſſes his Troops.

To the ſame purpoſe, and to eaſe the Country of the multitudes of his Souldiers, he diſmiſſed not only the greateſt part of his new Troops, but likewiſe reduced the one half of his old. He reduced the Companies of the Ordinance to a very little number, and took off the Guards of the Governours of the Provinces, and Lieutenants of the King; not willing to ſuffer any whatſoever beſides himſelf to have that glorious mark of Soveraignty about their perſons.

The Wars had ſpoiled all Commerce, reduced Cities into Villages, Villages to ſmall Cots, and Lands to Deſerts: nevertheleſs the Receivers conſtrained the poor Husband-men to pay Taxes for thoſe Fruits they had never gathered. The Crys of theſe miſerable people who had nothing but their Tongues to lament with, touched in ſuch manner the very Entrails of ſo juſt and ſo good a King, that he made an Edict, by which he releaſed them of all they owed him for the time paſt, and gave them hopes to eaſe them more for the future.

He remits the Arrears of Taxes.

Moreover, having underſtood that during the Troubles there were made a great quantity

tity of falſe Nobles, who were exempted from the Tax, he commaded that they ſhould be ſought forth: nor did he confirm their Uſurpation for a piece of money, as hath been ſometimes done, to the great prejudice of other taxed people; but he would that the Tax ſhould be re-impoſed upon them, to the end that by this means they might aſſiſt the poor people to bear a good part of the burthen, as being the richer. Part III. He commands the falſe Nobles to be ſought out and Taxes re-impoſed on them.

He deſired with much affection to do good to his true Nobility, and repay them thoſe Expences they had been at in his Service; but his Coffers were empty: and moreover, all the Gold in *Peru* had not been ſufficient to ſatisfie the Appetite and Luxury of ſo many people. For King *Henry* the Third had by his Example, and that of his Minions, raiſed Expences ſo high, that Lords lived like Princes, and Gentlemen like Lords: for which purpoſes they were forced to alienate the Poſſeſſions of their Anceſtors, and change thoſe old Caſtles, the illuſtrious marks of their Nobility, into Silver Lace, Gilt Coaches, Train, and Horſes. Afterwards, when they were indebted beyond their credit, they fell either upon the Kings Coffers, demanding Penſions; or on the backs of the people, oppreſſing them with a thouſand Thieveries. The King, willing to remedy this diſorder, declared very reſolvedly to his Nobility, That he would they ſhould accuſtom themſelves to live every man on his Eſtate; and to this effect he ſhould be well content He retrenches the Luxury of the Nobility, and ſends them all to their houſes in the Country.

Part III.

content that to enjoy themſelves of the Peace, they ſhould go ſee their Country-houſes, and give order for the improvement of their Lands. "Thus he eaſed them of the great Expences "of the Court; and made them underſtand, "that the beſt Treaſure they could have, was "that of good Management. Moreover, knowing that the *French* Nobility would ſtrive to imitate the King in all things, he ſhewed them by his own Example, how to abridge their ſuperfluity in Cloathing. For he ordinarily wore gray Cloth, with a Doublet of Sattin or Taffata, without ſlaſhing, Lace, or Embroidery. He praiſed thoſe who were clad in this ſort, and chid the others, who carried, ſaid he, their Mills, and their Woods and Foreſts on their backs.

He ſhews them by his Example the modeſty of his Habits.

About the end of the year, he was ſeized with a ſudden and violent ſickneſs at *Monceaux*, of which it was thought he would dye. All *France* was affrighted; and the rumours which ran of it, ſeemed to re-kindle ſome Factions: but in ten or twelve days, he was on foot again; as if God had only ſent him this ſickneſs to diſcover to him what ill wills there were yet in the Kingdom, and to give him the ſatisfaction to feel by the ſorrows of his people, the pleaſures of being loved.

He falls dangerouſly ſick.

In the ſtrength of his Diſeaſe, he ſpoke to his Friends theſe excellent words: *I do not at all fear death; I have affronted it in the greateſt dangers: but I avow that I ſhould unwillingly leave this life, till I have put this Kingdom into that*

Words of a good King.

that splendour I have proposed to my self; and till I have testified to my people, by governing them well, and easing them of their many Taxes, that I love them as if they were my Children.

Part II.

After his recovery, continuing in his praiseworthy designs of putting his Affairs in order, he came to St. *Germain* in *Laye*, to resolve the Estates of the Expence as well of his House, as for the Guard of Frontiers and Garrisons, Entertainment of Forces, Artillery, Sea-Affairs, and many other Charges. He had then in his Council (as we may say we have at present) very great men, and most experienced in all sorts of Matters; but he still shewed himself more able and more understanding then they. He examined and discussed all the particulars of his Expence with a Judgment, and with a clearness of Spirit truly admirable; retrenched and cut off all that was possible, allowing only what was necessary. Amongst other things, he abridged the superfluous Expences of the Tables in his House; not so much that he might spare himself, as to oblige his Subjects to moderate their liquorish prodigality, and hinder them from ruining their whole houses by keeping too great Kitchins. "In sum, by the Example of the King, "which hath always more force then Laws, "or then Correction, Luxury was soon con"verted into a Frugality very necessary for the "State.

He gives the Estates an account of his expences.

Cuts off the superfluous expences of his Tables.

He had chosen for his Council very able and faithful Ministers; as, *Chiverny*, *Bellievre*, *Sillery*,

Whom he his Counsellours & Ministers.

Part III. lery, *Sancy*, *Jamin*, *Villeroy*, and *Rosny*. I speak not here at all of his gallant Men for War, as the Marshal of *Byron*, *Lesdiguieres* Governour of the *Dauphinate*, the Duke of *Mayenne*, the Constable of *Montmorency*, the Marshal *de la Chastre*, the Marshal *d'Aumont*, *Guitry*, *la Noue*, and many others; of whom he served not himself in the Administration of State-affairs, though he often entertained himself with them; and for their honour sometimes communicated to them things of consequence, demanding their advice.

Chiverny. The Chancellour of *Chiverny*, who had been raised to this Charge under the Reign of *Henry* the Third, was a man cold, dissembled, and considerate: but, as his Enemies said, he was a much better Pleader then Counsellour of State.

Bellievre. He dyed the year following, and in his place the King constituted *Pompone de Bellievre*, a man perfectly accomplished in the knowledge of the Rights and Interests of *France*, and a most expert Negotiator, as he well shewed in the Treaty of *Vervin*. He was old when the King gave him this Charge; and therefore said himself, That he only entred into it, to go out of it. He counselled the King to make a severe Act against Duels: He established a very good Order in the Council; and ordained, That none should be received Master of the Requests, but who had been ten whole years in one of the Soveraign Companies, or sixteen in other of the Subalternate Seats.

Nicholas

Nicholas Bruſſard de Sillery, Preſident of the Cap to the Parliament of *Paris*, who was his Son-in-law, and who had been his Companion at *Vervin*, was of a ſpirit ſweet, facile, and circumſpect. It hath been ſaid, that the Publick never beheld any paſſion either in his Countenance or Diſcourſe. Part III. *Sillery.*

Harlay-Sancy was a man free, bold, and dauntleſs, who feared no perſon when he acted for the Service of the King: but he was a little rugged, and ſpoke to him too freely; witneſs what he ſaid concerning Madam *Gabriella*, who knew how to return it to him. *Sancy.*

As for *Janin*, Preſident of the Parliament of *Bourgongne*, and *Villeroy* chief Secretary of State, they had both taken part with the League; and yet very profitably ſerved both the King and *France*, having in what they acted, endeavoured only for the defence of the Catholick Religion, and not been moved out of a ſpirit of Faction. They had hindred the *Spaniards* from planting themſelves in this Realm, and the Duke of *Mayenne* from abſolutely caſting himſelf upon them, as his deſpair had often perſwaded him to do. They agreed both in this point, that they loved the Eſtate and Royalty with paſſion, and that they had great Judgment: but for the reſt of their humours, they were very much different.

Janin was an old *Gaul*, who would manage his Affairs by the ancient Forms, according to the Laws and Ordinances; a good Lawyer, firm and reſolute, who went directly towards *Janin.*

Part III. his end, and who knew no ſubtile turnings and windings, but entirely loved the publick good.

Villeroy. *Villeroy* was one of the wiſeſt and moſt exact Courtiers that was ever ſeen: he had a ſpirit clear and neat, which would unravel with an incredible facility the moſt embroiled Affairs; explain them ſo agreeably and intelligibly, as nothing more, and who turned them as himſelf pleaſed. He was wonderfully active withal, and moſt excellent at finding Expedients; taking his buſineſs by ſo ſure hold, that it was difficult to eſcape him.

The King confers often with his Counſellors, & how. The King often conferred with theſe Counſellours: for they were now ſo called, and not Miniſters, as they had been for above thirty years before. He ſpoke to them of his Affairs, ſometimes to be inſtructed, and ſometimes to inſtruct them; which he did either in the Council-Chamber, or walking in the Gardens of the *Tuilleries*, *Monceaux*, St. *Germain*, and *Fountainbleau*. He diſcourſed often with them apart, calling them one after another; and he did ſo, either to oblige them to ſpeak to him with more liberty, or not to tell them all together what he would only tell to ſome particularly; or for ſome other reaſon which he without doubt deduced from good Policy. He ſaid, That he found none amongſt them who ſatisfied him like *Villeroy*; and that he could diſpatch more buſineſs with him in an hour, then with the others in a whole day.

As

As for *Maximilian de Bethune*, Baron of *Roſny*, and after Duke of *Sully*, he had been bred up with the King in the *Hugonot* Religion, and the King had known his capacity and affection in divers Affairs of Conſequence; but above all, that his Genius carried him to the good Management of Revenues, and that he had all qualities requiſite for that purpoſe. In effect, he was a man of good order, exact, a good husband, a keeper of his word; not prodigal nor proud, nor carried away by vain follies or expences, or play, or Women, or any other things not convenient for a man intruſted with ſuch an Imployment. Moreover, he was vigilant, laborious, expeditious, and one who dedicated almoſt his whole time to his Affairs, and little to his pleaſures: and withal, he had the gift of piercing into the very bottom of Matters, and unravelling thoſe twiſtings and knots with which Treaſurers, when they are not truſty and faithful, endeavour to conceal their deceits.

Part III. *Roſny*, after Duke of *Sully*.

We have already ſaid how the King deſired above all things to provide for a good Government in his Revenues; and the reaſons for which he had been obliged to leave *Francis d'O*, in the Charge of Superintendant. After this man was dead, he gave that Charge to five or ſix perſons, whom he believed both capable and honeſt men: he was perſwaded that he ſhould be better ſerved by them, then by one alone, imagining that they would ſerve as Checks and Controulers to one another.

After the death of *Francis d'O*, he commits his Revenues to five or ſix who acquit themſelves ill.

ther. But the quite contrary happened: every one discharged himself on his Companion, nothing was advanced; and if any would act, the others were not wanting to cross him by their jealousies: so that they only agreed in this point, that every one looked that his Salary was well paid him; which cost the King six times more, then if he had had only one Superintendent, whilst he drew no profit from this multitude.

Seeing that, he makes *Sancy* alone Superintendent.

Knowing then that so many people did only imbroil his Revenues, he returned them again into the hands of one, and this was *Sancy*. But a short time after, finding him more proper for other Imployments then that, he gave him *Rosny* for a Companion, and after made *Rosny* alone Superintendent.

And very little time after, *Rosny*, who knows perfectly the Revenues.

Rosny, before he entred into this Charge, was provided with all necessary knowledges to acquit himself well of it; he knew perfectly all the Revenues of the Kingdom, and all the Expences which were necessary. He communicated all he knew to the King, who on his part had likewise studied all these things, so that an hundred Crowns could not be laid out, but he would know whether it were well or ill imployed. Which the King knows also so well, that he could not be cheated

"As it is the advan-
"tage of an unfaithful Steward that his Ma-
"ster be ignorant, and make no inspection
"into his Affairs: so it is of a true and faith-
"ful Servant, that he be well instructed,
"and that he clearly see them, to the end
"he

" he may know how worthily to esteem his " Services.

He desires *Rosny* to take no Presents without advertising him.

For the rest of his humour, it agreed perfectly well with that of the Kings. When he trusted him with his Revenues, he desired him that he would never take a Bottle of Wine, or any the least Present without advertising him. And when *Rosny* did advertize him of it, he consented presently to it: and likewise was so willing that in serving him well, he might find his benefit, that oftentimes he added Gifts of his own, to give him courage to serve him still better and better. But *Rosny* never received them till they were duely ratified in the Chamber of Accounts: to the end all the World might know the liberality of his Prince towards him, and that he might not be reproached that he made use of his favour to load his own Coffers.

He begins to establish a constant order in the Revenues.

Under the Administration of this Superintendent, the first Law which the King made concerning Affairs of this nature, was the immutable constancy of their ordering; which was never to alter, after it was once agreed and concluded on. " For as the most de- " sperate things are by good order redressed " under a firm and constant Conduct: so the " best established and most assured become " dispersed under a light head, which does, " undoes, and redoes without ceasing; and " which on the morrow revokes, what it to " day commanded.

Effects of this good management of *Rosny*.

Rosny soon gave indubitable proofs of his

capacity; for having visited only four * Generalities, he in little time got in a Million and half of money, which was in Arrear. And after the Surprisal of *Amiens* by the *Spaniards*, he readily found monies to raise a great Army, and furnish the Expence of the Siege: so that he was one of the principal Instruments in the Recovery of that great City.

* *A general place for Receipt of Revenues, whereof there be 20 in France, viz.* Paris, Rouen, Caen, Nantes, Tours, Bourges, Poictiers, Agen, Tholouse, Montpelier, Aix, Grenoble, Lyons, Dijon, Chaalons, Amiens, Orleans, Limoges, Soissons, & Moulin.

Expedients to hinder those of the Council to share with the Farmers.

It is convenient, since it may prove necessary in all times, to take notice of an Expedient, which amongst others he found to hinder the Cousenages of the Tax-gatherers. He knew that there were some persons in the Kings Council, who held part with the Renters and Farmers, and who caused them to be adjudged to the Council at a low price, and often made be given great Diminutions. To hinder therefore these people from eating the Cake amongst them, he stopt the hands of the general Farmers, forbidding the under-Farmers longer to pay them any thing, but themselves to bring the money of their under-Farms into the Exchequer. He doubled by this means the Revenues of the King: for the under-Farms and under-Rents were found to surmount almost two thirds the General Rents and Farms.

The Collectors exclaim against *Rosny*, but he deceives them,

Those of the Council and the Collectors at first exclaimed highly against his Conduct; they laid snares every where for him, and begat

begat him a thouſand troubles; but with time he brought them to reaſon. Likewiſe all thoſe who had no right to demand any thing of him, and who ceaſed not to importune him, when they could get nothing from him, ſtormed againſt his hardneſs: but he cared not for their fury; he regarded only legally to pay the Debts of the King, and readily to pay what was ordained for good ends: for he knew not how to let that be an hundred times demanded, which was truly due. Part III.

"We have ſtayed ſomewhat the longer "on this point of the Revenues, becauſe it "is the moſt important of all; that by which "all things are done, and without which no-"thing can be done; on which depends either "the eaſe or the oppreſſion of the people, "and the good or ill ſucceſs of all Deſigns or "Enterpriſes.

1599. The King cannot yet provide for the Reformation of the Clergy.

Our *Henry* much deſired at the ſame time to take care for the Reformation of the Clergy, which in truth was in great diſorder, as well in Temporals, its Goods having been uſurped during the Wars by the *Hugonots* and wicked Catholicks; as in Spirituals, the greateſt parts of both Prelates and Paſtors being as ignorant as depraved: but he could not yet apply convenient remedies. The neceſſity to which he was driven to recompence thoſe who had well ſerved him, conſtraining him to tolerate abuſes, and likewiſe to commit them, diſpoſing Benefices as formerly *Charles Martell* had done. For he gave them

His abuſe of Benefices.

to

Part III. to people incapable, to Married men, to men of the Sword, to Children, and likewise to Women, to recompense the loss of their Husbands killed or ruined in his Service.

I have not attempted to excuse this fault; for there can never be any lawful reason given for the prostitution of the Goods of the Sanctuary to profane uses, or imploying the Treasures of the Cross in other Services then that of the Altar. I know well that many Ecclesiasticks themselves act otherwise; but who doubteth these people to be worse then those *Jews*, who played at Dice upon the holy Robe of *Jesus Christ*?

Remonstrance of the general Assembly of the Clergy to the King.

About the end of this year, the general Assembly of the Clergy was held at *Paris*, who drew up a Remonstrance to the King; by which the Prelates prayed him to cause the Council of *Trent* to be published in *France*: Not to charge his Conscience with the nomination of Bishops, Abbots, and other Benefices having the charge of Souls; not to give any persons of the Laity Pensions over Benefices; not to permit Churches and Holy places to be profaned as they then were; but to take some order for their reparation, and the re-establishment of Divine Service.

For what concerned the Council of *Trent*, it is to be understood, that it was received in *France*, as to those Articles concerned the Faith, but not generally for those which concerned Policy and Discipline, because it seemed to many, that these last were for the most part

part contrary to the liberty of the *Gallick* Church, and the Rights of the King. For which reaſons, whatever endeavours the zealous have uſed, they could never compaſs its reception, the Parliaments having always ſtrongly oppoſed it. Part III.

To the Harangue of the Clergy, the King eloquently anſwered, but in few words, *That he acknowledged what they had ſaid concerning the nomination of Benefices was true; but that he was not the Author of that abuſe. That being come to the Crown during the flames of a Civil War, he had ran where-ever he had beheld the greateſt fire to extinguiſh it. That now he had Peace, he would endeavour again to raiſe up thoſe two Pillars of* France, *to wit, Piety and Juſtice. That God willing, he would reſtore the Church to as good an Eſtate, as it was in the time of* Lewis XII. *But,* ſaid he, *contribute, I pray you, on your ſide; let your good Examples as much incite the people to do good, as they have been heretofore diverted: you have exhorted me to my Duty, and I exhort you to yours; let us act in this with envy one to another. My Predeceſſors have given you fair words, but I with my Gray Jacket will give you good effects. I am all Gray without, but you ſhall find me Gold within. I will ſee your deſires, and anſwer them the moſt favourably I can poſſible.* The Kings Anſwer.

All his Prudence and all his Addreſs were not too much to teach him to govern himſelf, ſo that both the Catholicks and Pope might be content with his Conduct, and the *Hugonots* have He had need of great Prudence to conduct himſelf with the Pope and with the *Hugonots*.

Part III. have no cauſe to be alarmed, or cantonize themſelves. His Duty and his Conſcience carried him to the aſſiſtance of the firſt; but Reaſon of State, and the great Obligations he had to the laſt, permitted him not to make them deſpair. To keep therefore a neceſſary temperature, he granted them an Edict more ample then the precedent. It was called, The Edict of *Nantes*, becauſe it was concluded the year before in that City whilſt he was there: by this he granted them all liberty for the exerciſe of their Religion; and likewiſe licenſe to be admitted to Charges, to Hoſpitals, to Colledges, and to have Schools in certain places, and Preaching every where; and many other things, of which they are ſince deprived, by reaſon of their Rebellions and divers Enterpriſes.

Edict of *Nantes* granted to the *Hugonots*.

The Parliament ſtrongly oppoſed it for more then a year: but in the end, when they were made underſtand, that not to accord that ſecurity to the *Hugonots*, who were both powerful and quarrelſom, were to re-kindle new War in the Kingdom, they confirmed it.

The Parliament with great difficulty confirm it.

On the other ſide, to ſweeten the Pope, who might be troubled at this Edict, the King ſhewed him all poſſible manner of reſpect, and ſtrenuouſly embraced his intereſts, as appeared in the Action of *Ferrara*, in the years 1597. and 1598.

The King ſhews all reſpect to the Pope.

This Dutchy is a *Fief* Male of the holy Seat, of which the Popes had formerly inveſted the Lords of the Houſe of *Eſt*, in charge of its reverſion

Cauſe of the Dutchy of *Ferrara*.

verſion in default of legitimate Males. *Alphonſo d'Eſt*, ſecond of that Name, and laſt Duke, dyed in the year 1597. without Children, and had left great Treaſures to *Cæſar d'Eſt*, Baſtard to *Alphonſo* the firſt his Kinſman. He had done what poſſibly he could to obtain the Inveſtiture of the Dutchy on this Baſtard, who not able to obtain it, yet ceaſed not to take poſſeſſion of it after the death of *Alphonſo* the Second; reſolving to maintain it by force of Arms. *Clement* the Eighth was obliged to make War againſt him, to diſpoſſeſs him: the Princes of *Italy* took part in the Quarrel; and the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Nemours* were upon the point to undertake the defence of *Cæſar*, whoſe near Kinſmen they were, being the iſſues of *Anne d'Eſt*, Daughter of *Hercules* the Second, Duke of *Ferrara*, and of Madam *Renee de France*: for that *Anne* in her firſt Marriage had eſpouſed *Francis* Duke of *Guiſe*; and in her ſecond, *James* Duke of *Nemours*. The King of *Spain* likewiſe favoured him underhand, not deſiring that the Pope ſhould grow greater in *Italy* by the re-union of that Dutchy. But *Henry* the Great was not wanting to take this occaſion to offer his Sword and his Forces to the holy Father. The Allies knowing it, were extremely disheartned, and he conſtrained to treat with the Pope, to whom he ſurrendred all the Dutchy of *Ferrara*. There remained to him only the Cities of *Modena* and *Regia*, which the Emperour maintained to be *Fief* of the Empire, and of which

Part III.

Cæſar Baſtard of *Ferrara*, would maintain it.

The Pope makes War againſt him.

The King offers his Sword to the Pope. *Cæſar* quits *Ferrara*, & remains Duke of *Modena*.

Part III.

which he gave him the Inveſtiture. From whence came the preſent Dukes of *Modena*.

If the heat which the King teſtified in this occaſion for the intereſts of the holy Seat, ſenſibly obliged the Pope; that care which he made daily appear to bring back the *Hugonots* into the boſom of the Church, was no leſs agreeable to him. He acted to this purpoſe in ſuch a manner, that from day to day many of the moſt underſtanding and of the beſt quality were converted. But that which was more important, was, his taking the young Prince of *Conde* from the hands of the *Hugonots*, who had kept him diligently at St. *John d'Angely* ever ſince the death of his Father, which happened in the year 1587. and brought him up in the falſe Religion, with great hopes to make him one day their Chief and Protector. The King, conſidering how it would be both prejudicial to the ſafety of the young Prince, and to his own Intereſts, to leave him longer there, knew ſo well how to gain the principal of the Party, that they ſuffered him to be brought to Court; and he gave him for Governour *John*, Marqueſs of *Piſany*, a Lord of a rare Merit, and of a Wiſdom without reproach, who forgot not to inſtruct him well in the Catholick Religion, and in the trueſt Sentiments of Honour and Vertue. He was yet but ſeven or eight years old: when he came to nine, the King gave him the Government of *Guyenne*; loving him tenderly, and cheriſhing him as his preſumptive Succeſſour.

Many *Hugonots* convert.

The King takes the young Prince of *Conde* from the *Hugonots*, and cauſes him to be inſtructed in the Catholick Religion.

During

During this Calm of the Peace, nothing was ſpoken of but Rejoycings, Feaſts, and Marriages. That of the *Infanta* of *Spain*, *Iſabella-Clara-Eugenia*, and of the Arch-Duke *Albert*, was ſolemnized in the Low-Countries; and that of Madam *Katherine*, Siſter of the King, with *Henry* Duke of *Bar*, eldeſt Son to *Charles* the Second, Duke of *Lorraine* at *Paris*. Part III. Marriage of the *Infanta* of *Spain*, and *Katherine* Siſter to the King.

Katherine was forty years of age; more agreeable then fair, having one Leg a little ſhort. She was very ſpiritual, loved Learning, and knew much for a Woman; but was an obſtinate *Hugonot*. The King feared leſt ſhe ſhould marry ſome Proteſtant Prince, who by this means might become Protector of the *Hugonots*, and be like another King in *France*: by reaſon of which, he gave her to the Duke of *Bar*; thinking moreover to gain more belief among the Catholicks, by allying himſelf with the Houſe of *Lorraine*. Before this, he had uſed all poſſible means to convert her, even to the imploying of threats: but not being able to do it, he ſaid one day to the Duke of *Bar*, *My Brother, it is you muſt vanquiſh her.* Qualities of *Katherine*, and why the King married her to the Duke of *Bar*.

There was ſome difficulty about the place and the Ceremony of Celebration of this Marriage: the Duke would have it done at the Church, and the Princeſs by a *Hugonot*-Miniſter. The King found a mean: he cauſed it to be done in his Cloſet, whither he led his Siſter by the hand; and commanded his natural Brother, who had for about two years been Arch- The Marriage made in the Kings Cloſet.

Part III. Archbiſhop of *Rouen*, to marry them. This new Archbiſhop at firſt made ſome refuſal of it; alledging the Canons: but the King repreſenting to him that his Cloſet was a conſecrated place, and that his preſence ſupplied the default of all Solemnities, the poor Archbiſhop had no longer power to reſiſt him.

The Pope troubled at the Duke of *Bar* for this Marriage.

This Marriage being made for the good of the Catholick Religion, it ſeemed that the Pope ſhould have been content. Nevertheleſs, not willing to ſuffer an ill that a good might come of it, he declared that the Duke of *Bar* had incurred Excommunication, for having without the Diſpenſation of the Church contracted with an Heretick: nor ever could the Duke, what ſubmiſſion ſoever he made, obtain Abſolution. It was neceſſary for God to lend his hand. This Princeſs dyed three years after with ſadneſs and melancholy, to ſee her ſelf live in a diſcontented manner with her Husband, who daily preſſed her to turn Catholick.

Death of the Dutcheſs of *Bar*.

Beſides the Solemnities of theſe Marriages, many other things entertained the Court. Two notable Changes, one of the Duke of *Joyeuſe*, the other of the Marchioneſs of *Belle Iſle*, cauſed its aſtoniſhment.

The Duke of *Joyeuſe* re-takes the habit of Capuchin.

The Duke of *Joyeuſe*, who had quitted the Habit of Capuchin to become Chief of the League in *Languedoc*, on a fair day, without ſaying any thing to any body, went and caſt himſelf into his Convent at *Paris*, and re-took the

the Habit. Few days after, there was much astonishment to see him with that Habit of Penitence preach in the Pulpit, whom they had seen the week before dancing of Balls, as one of the most Gallant. It was said, that the holy Exhortations of his Mother, who from time to time put him in remembrance of his Vow; and some ambiguous words which the King had thrown out in converse with him, made him think that he could no longer live in the World, either with safety of Conscience, or with Honour. Part III.

The Marchioness of *Belle Isle*, Sister to the Duke of *Longueville*, and Widow of the Marques of *Belle Isle*, eldest Son of the Mareshal *de Retz*, having received some secret displeasure, renounced likewise the World, and went and shut her self up in the Convent of the *Feuillantines* at *Tolouse*, where she took the Veil, and finished her days. The Marchioness of *Belle Isle* turns *Feuillantine*.

After this, came News to the Court, that *Phillipin*, Bastard to the Duke of *Savoy*, was killed in a Duel by the *Seigneur de Crequy*: of whom it might be without flattery said, That he was one of the most gallant and bravest men of his time. The History of this Combat may be found written in so many places, and is yet so firm in the memory of all that wear Swords, that it would be superfluous to recount the Particularities. Duel of *de Crequy*, & *Phillipin* Bastard of *Savoy*.

The Chase was now the Kings ordinary Devertisement. It is recounted, that Hunting in the Forest of *Fountain-bleau*, accompanied

Part III. by many Lords, he heard a great noise of Horns, Hunters, and Dogs, which seemed to be a great way distant; but all of an instant approached them. Some of his Company, who were twenty paces before him, saw a great black man among the bushes, who affrighted them in such manner, that they could not tell what became of him: but they heard him cry out to them with a rank and affrightful voice, *M'attendez-vous*, or *m'entendez-vous*, or *amendez-vous*: that is, *Do you hear me*; or, *Do you understand me*; or else, *Amend your selves*. The Wood-men and Country-people thereabouts, said, That it was no extraordinary thing: for they had often seen this black man, whom they named the *Great Hunter*, with a Pack of Hounds which hunted at full cry; but never did harm to any.

The apparition of the great Hunter to the King hunting at *Fountainbleau*.

Infinite account is made in all Countries in the World of like illusions in Hunting. If we may give any credit to them, we may believe them either to be the Tricks of Sorcerers, or of some evil Spirits, to whom God gives permission to convince the incredulous, and make them see that there are substances separated, and a being above man.

What these fantasms may be.

Now if Prodigies are Signs, as some have said of some great and dire Events, it may be believed that this presaged the strange death of the fair *Gabriella*, which happened some days after. The love which the King had for her, instead of being extinguished by enjoyment, was come to such a point, that she had dared

to

to demand of him, that he ſhould acknowledge his fault, and legitimate his Children by a ſubſequent Marriage: nor durſt he abſolutely refuſe her this grace, but entertained her ſtill with hopes.

Part II. The fair *Gabriella* demands the King to eſpouſe her, and legitimate his Children. He feeds her with hope.

Thoſe who love the glory of this great King, can difficultly believe that he would have done ſuch an action, which had without doubt begot a low opinion of him, and again thrown him under his peoples hatred. However, it was to be feared that the allurements of this Woman, who had found his weakneſs, with the flattery of the Courtiers whom ſhe had almoſt all gained, either by preſents or kindneſſes, might engage this poor Prince to a diſhonour. And without diſſembling, he had his Soul too tender towards Ladies. He was Maſter of all his other paſſions, but he was a Slave to this: nor can his memory be juſtified from this reproach: for though he were admirable in all other parts of his life, he ought not to be imitated in this.

In the mean time, *Gabriella*, flattering her ſelf with a hope to be ere long his Wife, deduced from thoſe hopes himſelf had given her, acted ſo well, that ſhe obliged him to demand of the Pope Commiſſioners to judge of the Divorce between him and Queen *Margaret*. And the King, that he might find favour with the holy Father, and render him more facile to his intentions, cauſed to be ſaid underhand, that he would marry *Maria de Medices* his Niece, Siſter to the Duke of *Florence*: for

She in the end obliges the King to demand Commiſſioners of the Pope to judge of the Divorce of *Margaret*.

Part III. whom nevertheleſs it was believed that he had not then any deſire.

And the Pope, were it that he diſtruſted his intention, or that he ſaw that Queen *Margaret* lent not her hand to it, protracted the buſineſs, and returned only ambiguous Anſwers. It was likewiſe ſaid, that being one day much preſſed by the Cardinal *d'Oſſat* and by *Sallery*, to give content to their Maſter, for want of which, ſaid they, he may paſs further, and eſpouſe the Dutcheſs; he was ſo aſtoniſhed at this Diſcourſe, that he immediately remitted the Conduct of this Affair to the hand of God, commanded a Faſt through all the City of *Rome*, and went himſelf to Prayers, to demand of God to inſpire him with what ſhould be beſt for his glory. That at the end of his Prayer he cryed out as if he had been revived from an Extaſie, *God hath provided*; and that in few days after, there arrived a Courrier at *Rome*, bringing News of the death of the Dutcheſs.

In the mean time, the King grew impatient at theſe delays; and it was to be feared leſt a diſdain to be neglected, ſhould caſt him into the ſame inconveniencies it had formerly done *Henry* the Eighth, King of *England*; or by the counſel of ſome Flatterers, forcing the goodneſs of his Nature, be perſwaded to rid himſelf of Queen *Margaret* in any manner ſoever.

The King remains at Fountain-bleau to do his *Eaſter*-devotions, and ſends the fair *Gabriella* to Paris.

Gabriella was at preſent great with her fourth Child, when the Feaſt of *Eaſter* approaching

proaching, the King desiring to do his Devotions for that holy time far from all object of scandal, sent her to *Paris*, accompanying her just half way. She with no small grief parted from him, recommending to him her Children with tears in her eyes, as if she had some secret pre-sentiment; telling him that she should never more see him. Part II

Being at *Paris*, lodged in the house of *Zamet*, that famous Treasurer, after having dined with him, and heard * *Tenebres* at little St. *Anthonies* (being holy *Thursday*) as she returned to her Lodging, and being walking in the Garden, she felt her self struck with an Apoplexy in the Brain. The first fury of it being passed, she would no longer stay in that house, but caused her self to be carried to that of Madam *de Sourdis* her Aunt, near St. *Germain* of the *Auxerrois*. And all the rest of that day, and the morrow, she was perplexed with Swoondings and Convulsions, of which she died on the *Saturday* morning.

* *A service in the Roman Church sed three days before Easter, which are called, Les trois Jours de tenebres.*

She dyes in a strange manner.

The causes of her death were diversly spoken of: but however, it was a happiness to *France*, since it deprived the King of an Object for which he was about to lose both himself and his Estate. His grief was as great as his love had been: yet he, not being of those feeble Souls who please themselves in perpetuating their sorrows, and in bathing themselves in their tears, received not only those comforts he sought, but still conserved for the Children, and particularly for the Duke of *Vendosme*,

The King comforts himself, conserves an extreme tenderness for her Children.

Part III. *doſme*, that affection he had born the Mother.

All good *French* men paſſionately deſired that ſo good a King might leave Legitimate Children. They durſt not preſs him to take a Wife capable to bring him forth ſuch, ſo long as *Gabriella* lived, for fear leſt he ſhould eſpouſe her: and out of the ſame fear, Queen *Margaret* would not give her conſent to diſſolve his Marriage. But when *Gabriella* was dead, ſhe willingly lent her hand to it; and her ſelf addreſſed a Requeſt to the holy Father to demand the diſſolution, founding it principally on two cauſes of Nullity. The firſt was the want of conſent: for ſhe alledged ſhe had been forced to it by King *Charles* IX. her Brother. The ſecond, the Proximity of Kindred found between them in the third degree: for which ſhe ſaid there had never been any valuable Diſpenſation.

Queen *Margaret* preſents a Requeſt to the Pope to diſſolve her Marriage.

In like manner the Lords of the Kingdom, and the Parliament beſought his Majeſty by ſolemn Deputations, that he would think of taking a Wife: repreſenting to him the inconveniencies and the danger wherein *France* would be found; if he ſhould dye without Children. Theſe Deputations will not ſeem ſtrange to thoſe who know our ancient Hiſtory; where it may be ſeen, that neither the King nor his Children married but by the advice of his Barons: and this paſſed in that time for almoſt a Fundamental Law of the Eſtate.

The Lords and Parliament beſeech the King to take a Wife.

The

The King touched with these just supplications of his Subjects, addressed his Request to the Pope, containing the same reasons as that of Queen *Margaret*, and charged the Cardinal *d'Ossat*, and *Sillery* his extraordinal Ambassadour, whom he had sent to *Rome*, to pursue the Judgment of the Pope concerning the restitution of the Marquisate of *Saluces*, to sollicite instantly this Affair. Part III. the pres. seems his request to the Pope, as well as Queen *Margaret*.

The Cause reported to the Consistory, the Pope gave Commission to the Prelates to judge it on the place, according to the Rights of that Crown; which suffers not *French* men to be transported for Affairs of the like nature beyond the Mountains, whither it would be almost impossible to bring the necessary proofs and witnesses. These Prelates were the Cardinal of *Joyeuse*, the Popes *Nuntio*, and the Archbishop of *Arles*; who having examined both Parties, seen the Proofs produced on one and the other, and the Request of the three Estates of the Kingdom, declared this Marriage null, and permitted them to marry whom they should think fit. The Pope appoints Commissioners, who pronounce the dissolution of the Marriage.

Queen *Margaret*, who for many years had deserted the King, and voluntarily shut her self up in the strong Castle of *Usson* in *Auvergne*, had now permission to come to *Paris*, money given her to pay her Debts, great Pensions, the possession of the Dutchy of *Valois*, with some other Lands, and right to bear still the Title of Queen. She lived yet fifteen years, and built a Palace near *du Pre-aux-Clercs*: After which, Queen *Margaret* comes to *Paris*.

Part III. her inclination.

which was after ſold to pay his Debts, and demoliſhed to build other houſes. She loved extremely good Muſitians, having a delicate Ear, and knowing and eloquent men, becauſe ſhe was of a ſpirit clear and very agreeable in her diſcourſe. For the reſt, ſhe was liberal even to prodigality; pompous and magnificent; but ſhe knew not what it was to pay her debts. "Which is without doubt the greateſt of all a "Princes fault, becauſe there is nothing ſo "much againſt Juſtice, of which he ought to "be the Protector and Defender.

1600. This Marriage being diſſolved, *Bellievre* and *Villeroy*, fearing leſt the King ſhould engage himſelf in new Loves, and be taken in ſome of thoſe ſnares which the faireſt of the Court ſtretched out for him, perſwaded him by many great Reaſons of State to fix his thoughts on *Maria de Medicis*, who was Daughter to *Francis*, and Niece to *Ferdinand*, great Dukes of *Toſcany*.

Maria de Medicis demanded for *Hen.* 4.

The Cardinal *d'Oſſat* and *Sillery* made known his intention to the great Duke *Ferdinand* her Uncle: and *Alincour*, Son to *Villeroy*, whom he had ſent to thank the holy Father for his good and brief Juſtice touching the aforeſaid diſſolution of his Marriage, had order to teſtifie to him, that the King having caſt his eyes on all the Daughters of the Soveraign Houſes of *Chriſtendom*, had found no Princeſs more agreeable to him. The buſineſs was managed with ſo much activeneſs and vigilancy by the diligence of thoſe which had enterprized

prized it, that the King found himſelf abſolutely engaged. The Contract of the Marriage was ſigned at *Florence* by his Ambaſſadours the fourth of *April*, in the year One thouſand ſix hundred. And *Alincour* in ſeven days brought him the News to *Fountain-bleau*. He aſſiſted at preſent at that famous Conference or Diſpute between *James du Perron* Biſhop of *Evreux*, afterwards Cardinal, and *Philip du Pleſſis Mornay*; where truth nobly triumphed over falſehood. Part III. The Contract of the Marriage at *Florence*, and the Nuptials ſolemnized by Proxy.

There are particular Relations of the Solemnities made at *Florence*, the Magnificences of the great Duke, the Ceremonies of the Affiancing and Marriage of this Queen, of her Imbarking, her being Convoyed by the Gallies of *Malta* and *Florence*, and her Reception at *Marſeilles*, at *Avignon*, and at *Lyons*, and therefore I ſhall ſpeak nothing of it.

Whilſt the Marriage of *Florence* was treating, the King having a heart which could for no long time keep his liberty, became enſlaved to a new object. The King falls into the ſnares of Madam *d'Entragues* afterwards Marchioneſs of *Verneuil*.

It is to be underſtood, that *Mary Touchet*, who had been Miſtreſs to *Charles* the Ninth, from whom came Iſſue the Count *d'Auvergne*, had been Married to the Lord *d'Entragues*, and had by him many Children, amongſt the reſt a very fair Daughter named *Henrietta*, who by conſequent was Siſter by the Mothers ſide to the Count of *Auvergne*. This Count was about the age of thirty years, and ſhe about eighteen.

It

Part III. It is but too well known, that Flatterers and wicked Sycophants ruine all in the Courts of great Men, and corrupt likewise their persons. " These are they which sweeten the " poyson, which embolden the Prince to do " ill, which make him familiar with vice, which " seek and facilitate occasions for it; and who " act, as we may say, the mystery of *Satan* " and of the Tempter. It is impossible to " purge Courts from these plagues; they " insinuate, maugre the utmost endeavours, " into the Palaces of great ones; they render " themselves agreeable by new divertisements; " gain the ear by flattering praises, by pleasant " and well-devised Fables and Stories: and " when they have gained their entrance, they " make their venome slide into the heart, and " impoison the souls of the most innocent.

A good Reflection concerning Flatterers.

Our *Henry*, though so great a Prince as he was, had these people near him, who knowing his weakness as to Women, instead of fortifying him against it, and restraining him like true friends, they spurred him (as it were) forward in his wickedness, and made their Fortunes from his faults. It was these, who by commending the Beauties, the Carriage, the Spirit, and the divertizing and pleasant Discourse of *Madamoiselle d'Entragues*, made him first have a desire to see and to love her. They could never have done a worse Service for their Master then this. She had certainly many Charms, nor had she less spirit and cunning.

cunning. Her refuſals and modeſty did more and more provoke the Kings paſſion. Though he was not prodigal, he cauſed an hundred thouſand Crowns to be carried her at once. She refuſed them not, and reciprocally teſtified much love and impatience for ſo great a King: but ſhe cunningly cauſed her Father and Mother to obſerve her ſo near, that ſhe could not give him a full conveniency to ſpeak to her.

Part III. The King gives an hundred thouſand Crowns to *Mademoiſelle d'Entragues.*

Hereupon ſhe let him underſtand, that ſhe even deſpaired that ſhe could not keep her word with him; that it was neceſſary to have the conſent of her Father and Mother, for which on her part ſhe would labour. Afterwards, after many delays and put offs, ſhe told him, that they could not be brought to ſo delicate a point, except, were it only to ſecure their Conſciences towards God, and their Honour towards the World, his Majeſty would make her a promiſe of Marriage: That ſhe had no deſire to ſerve her ſelf of ſuch a Writing; and that if ſhe would do it, ſhe knew well there was no Officer who durſt cite a Man who had fifty thouſand Men of War at his Command: but that theſe good people deſired it ſhould be ſo; and that he need make no difficulty to pleaſe their fancy, ſince he did but give her a little bit of Paper in Exchange of the moſt precious thing ſhe had in the World. In fine, ſhe knew ſo well how to work his ſpirit, that he gave her a promiſe under his hand, by which he obliged himſelf

Her cunning to bring him to her deſigns.

She gets a promiſe of Marriage from him.

Part III. self to espouse her in a year, so that in that time she brought forth a Male-child.

Sully tears it, but the King makes another.

All this Intrigue may be seen in the Memoires of *Sully*, where he says, that the King having led him alone into the first Gallery of *Fountain-bleau*, shewed him this promise written under his hand, and demanded his advice: That instead of formally answering him concerning it, he tore it in two pieces: That the King remained quite astonished, and speaking angerly, *How! now I believe that you are a Fool*: and that he answered, *It is true, Sir, that I am a Fool, and could wish I were more so, so that I alone in* France *were one.*

That at his departing from the Gallery, the King entred into his Closet, and demanded a Pen and Ink, and that he believed it was to write another. However it were, this promise caused much trouble afterward: for the Lady would have made it valid, as we shall speak.

He pursues at *Rome* the decision of the Marquisate of *Saluces.*

At the same time that the King pursued the dissolution of his first Marriage at *Rome*, he made likewise instance to the holy Father, that he would decide the difference concerning the restitution of the Marquisat of *Saluces*, the Decision of which had been referred to him by the Treaty of *Vervin.*

How that Marquisate appertained to him.

To understand this well, it must be known that this Marquisate was a *Fief* dependant of the *Dauphinate*, of which King *Francis* the First had seized himself by right of Reversion, for default of Heirs Males in the Succession

Succeſſion of the Lords that held it. Now in 1588. during the Eſtates of *Blois*, the Duke of *Savoy* having advice that the League became very ſtrong in *France*, and that apparently that Monarchy would diſmember, ſnatched this Marquiſate, without having any ſubject of quarrel: he cloaked only this unjuſt Uſurpation with this fair pretext, that he ſeized it out of fear leſt *Leſdiguieres* ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of it, and by this means eſtabliſh *Hugonotiſm* in the midſt of his Territories. Part III.

How the Duke of *Savoy* ſeized it.

Seven years after, to wit, in the year 1595. the King being gone to *Lyons*, after the Battel of *Fountain-Francoiſe*, the Duke, who foreſaw well he would again have this Marquiſate, propoſed to him ſome Accommodation for it. The King offered to give it to one of his Sons, to hold it at Faith and Homage, with ſome other Conditions; but the Duke demanded it without any dependance, and ſo this Negotiation was broken.

An Accommodation ſpoke of. He offers it to be held at Faith and Homage.

Our Ambaſſadours treating the general Peace at *Vervin*, were not wanting inſtantly to demand the reſtitution of that *Fief*. Thoſe of the Duke who aſſiſted, alledged in favour of their Maſter, that piece appertained to him as being a *Fief* dependant of *Savoy*, and that he had more eſſential Titles to prove that Dependancy, which it was neceſſary to ſee, to decide the difference with knowledge of the Cauſe. Now it would have taken up too much time to cauſe them to come from *Savoy*: And the

By the Treaty of *Vervin* the buſineſs is remitted to the Popes Arbitration.

the Popes *Nuntio* preſſed the Peace, for fear leſt during theſe delays ſome accident might happen to break it quite: ſo that not to retard it, it was judged convenient to refer to the Pope the deciſion of this Affair, on condition that he ſhould terminate it in a year.

The *French* during that time ſollicited ſtrongly at *Rome* to have it decided. The *Savoyards* defended it only at extremity, and that for fear to loſe their Cauſe by default. Both the one and the other produced their Titles: Thoſe of the *French* were the beſt, and moreover, they had had a peaceable poſſeſſion of more then ſixty years, which was more then ſufficient to gain preſcription. The year being expired, the Pope demands of the King the prolongation of two months, to give in his Sentence of Arbitration, and that in the mean time the Marquiſate ſhould be ſequeſtred in his hands. The King willingly conſents: but the Duke enters into a miſtruſt that the Pope would have it for one of his Nephews: ſo that his Ambaſſadour having teſtified this miſtruſt, the Pope refuſes to meddle any farther, either with the Gage or with the Arbitration.

The Pope refuſes farther meddling with the Arbitration, and why.

The Duke of *Savoy* ſtrives to gain time.

The Duke imagining that his beſt way was to uſe delays, ſince it might happen that either the *French* King would grow weary of following of this buſineſs, or that ſome other more important Affair might divert his thoughts otherwhere. Moreover, knowing that there were many melancholy Spirits, who

who could not be recovered out of that opinion, that the King was ſtill in his heart a *Hugonot*, and with them many concealed and dangerous Enemies, ſo that no year paſſed but with many Conſpiracies againſt his perſon, he hoped that in the end ſome of them might ſucceed. In effect, that year there had been three diſcovered, of which that which made moſt noiſe was of a Woman, who offered to the Count of *Soiſſons* to poyſon him; but the Count diſcovered it, and ſhe was buried alive in the *Greve*.

He would come to *France* to confer with the King.

To the end therefore to gain time, he deſired to come himſelf into *France*, having ſo good an opinion of his own cunning and ſlights, that he aſſured himſelf he ſhould obtain of the King the Gift of this Marquiſate; or at leaſt he pretended to make ſuch propoſitions, and to imploy ſo many Artifices, that there ſhould paſs more then a year before he ſhould untangle them. He ſaid, that his Ambaſſadour had ſent him word, that he had heard the King ſay, that if they were together, they would decide this difference like friends; and that it was this good word had ſet him on his Voyage. But many ſuſpected, and that with ſome appearance, that he had a deſign to gain ſome people in the Kings Council, to ſound the affections, and obſerve and watch the diſcontented; to caſt abroad ſeeds of corruption and diviſion, and renew that Intelligence might be uſeful to him at Court. Others imagined that he was diſcontented with

Part III. with *Spain*, becauſe *Philip* the Second having given the Low-Countries in Dower to his youngeſt Daughter; he had left to the eldeſt, Wife of this Duke, only a Crucifix and an Image of our Lady. Moreover, he had indeed received ſome diſpleaſures from the Miniſters of *Spain*, and he ſpread a Report abroad, were it true or not, that he had undertaken this Voyage without communicating any thing to *Philip* the Third, his Brother-in-law. In fine, every one judged according to his fancy; and poſſibly none divined the ſecrets of his thoughts, there being never any Prince more cloſe or leſs penetrable then he. And ſome ſaid his Heart was covered with Mountains, as well as his Country; that is, becauſe that he was Hulch-back't, as *Savoy* was mountainous.

What might be the motives of his Voyage.

His Train. He brought with him a Train which well ſet forth his degree: for he had with him twelve hundred Horſe: but all his Officers were clad in Mourning, by reaſon of the death of his Wife; which many took as an ill preſage.

The King cauſes him to be well received every where. The King deſiring to receive him according to his Dignity, commanded all the Cities and the Governours to render him the ſame honour, as if he were there in perſon.

He paſſes *Lyons*. He came to *Lyons* by the River of *Roan*, and was received by *la Guiche* Governour of that City. But the *Chapitre* of St. *John* would not give him the place of Canon and Count of that Church, becauſe he no longer poſſeſſed the County of *Villars*, by vertue of which the

the Count of *Savoy* had been at other times received. Adding to this, that he had not his Titles, nor would give time to make proof of his Nobility; of which the *Chapiter* diſpenſes not with any whatſoever beſide our Kings. Part III.

From *Lyons* he came to *Roanna*, deſcended by Water to *Orleans*, and after came Poſt to *Fountain-bleau*, where the King was. He arrived the twentieth of *December*, accompanied with ſeventy Horſe: and preſently to acquiſt confidence with him, he lamented highly againſt the *Spaniards*; diſcovered, or feigned to diſcover to him his moſt ſecret thoughts, and a deſign he had to drive them out of *Italy*. He told him his friends, his ways, and his intelligences for that: he would make him believe that he would open his heart to him; that he was an abſolute *French* man, and deſired to fix himſelf to the Intereſts of *France* without reſerve. The King hearkned to him with attention, and thanked him for his good thoughts: but after all, he finiſhed with this: *I am of opinion, that we ſhould decide firſt thoſe Affairs between us, and then talk of others.* Three days after, the King went to *Paris*, where they were to diſcourſe more amply on the ſubject had brought him into *France*.

Arrives at *Fountain-bleau* where the King is.

His addreſs to gain confidence with the King.

who is as ſubtile as himſelf;

and carries him to *Paris*.

Now was the beginning of the laſt year of the fifteenth Age, which is accounted the One thouſand ſix hundredth, celebrated for the Centenary *Jubilee*, which was opened at *Rome*. There were found there four and twenty

Overture of the Centenary Jubilee at *Rome*.

Part III. thousand *French*: some moved by devotion, others by curiosity: among which, there was a good number of *Hugonots*, who went to see the great Ceremony. They might do it with all security: for during the great *Jubilee*, the Inquisition ceases at *Rome*; where at other times it is much less rigorous then in *Spain*. The Duke of *Bar* was in a concealed Habit at this *Jubilee*; he went to demand Absolution of the holy Father, but his submission, how great soever, could not obtain it; nor had he it till the death of Madam *Katherine* his Wife.

Great demonstrations of friendship between the King and Duke.

The beginning of this year beheld the King and the Duke of *Savoy* live with so much familiarity, and so many proofs of friendship, that it was believed that they had both but the same heart. The *French* Courtesie and Civility obliged the King to give the Duke all sorts of good Treatments; and the desire which the Duke had to obtain from him the Marquisate, moved him to a great Complacency, and to seek all means to render himself agreeable to so great a King. The Court of *France* avowed it had never seen a more perfect Courtier; the Ladies, a more pleasing Gallant; and the Officers of the King and the great ones, a Prince more liberal. He knew how to govern himself in such manner with the King, that he neither acted his Companion nor his Servant: and if he would appear inferiour to him in Grandeur, he endeavoured to be superiour to him in Generosity and Liberality:

How the Duke lived in the Kings Court.

lity: he gave with full hands, especially to the principal men of the Court. The King permitted them to accept his Presents, and on his side gave very great ones to the Duke: he treated him, and made the Chiefs of the Court treat him; every day shewing him some new subject of Divertisement. Among other things, he desired that he should see his Parliament; which our Kings have usually shewn to strange Princes, as a *Compendium* of their greatness, and the place where their Majesty sits with the greatest Splendour. They went together into the * Lanthern of the great Chamber, where they with great delight heard pleaded a very singular Cause, chosen of purpose; and the Sentence or Agreement pronounced by *Harlay* first President; a Personage so grave and so eloquent, that all which came from his mouth, seemed to come from that of Justice her self. Part III.

The King shews him his Parliament.

* *A place I suppose so called, which looked into the Parliament-House, and where they might see and not be seen.*

There was no Civility or Courtesie which the King shewed not to the Duke: but after all, he released not to him the Marquisate. The Duke tryed the business all ways possible: sometimes he offered to hold it in Homage from the Crown; sometimes he proposed to the King his great Designs on the *Milanois*, and on the Empire; sometimes he laid before him the Platform of a puissant League to destroy the *Spaniard* in *Italy*. But the King was too wise * to be gulled by gilded shadows: he

Yet the King releases not to him the Marquisate.

* *The French hath it,* Prendre le Change, *which is taken for flying out at a wrong Deer like Hounds of Rin.*

Part III. answered, That he had no ambition to conquer the Estate of another, but only to recover his own: That he would not speak of this Affair to the Duke, but that they ought refer that to their Council. In effect, they named some persons, who conferred together: but those of the King insisting daily on its restitution, and the Duke endeavouring to free it to himself, nothing was concluded.

Yet though all hopes were wanting to the Duke of obtaining any thing, he lost not at all his Courage, but trusted to the secret Intelligences he had renewed with some great ones of the Court, and particularly with the Duke of *Byron*. Many believe that he began now to debauch him; and that to this effect he served himself of one named *Laffin*, a Gentleman of *Bourgongne*, of the House of *Beauvais la Nocle*, but the most pernicious and most traiterous Fellow that could be found in *France*; he making a Trade of carrying Tales from one to another. The King knew him well; and often seeing him very familiar with *Byron*, he had the goodness to tell the Mareshal more then once, *Let not that man approach you; he is a plague; he will ruine you.*

The Duke not succeeding, it is believed he endeavored to debauch *Byron* by the means of *Laffin*.

The Duke knew that *Byron* loved the King, because he had raised him to the greatest Dignities of his Realm; and that the Prince likewise honoured him with his Good-will. It was therefore necessary to make him lose this affection, to render him capable of any evil design.

Byron

Byron was without doubt brave and valiant to the utmoſt; but ſo puft up with his Gallantry, that he could not ſuffer any perſon to equal him. After the Peace of *Vervin*, not having any thing more to do, he continually boaſted of his great Actions: according to his own words, he had done all: and he intoxicated himſelf in ſuch manner with his own praiſe, that he raiſed his own Valour above the Kings. He believed that he ought him his Crown, that he could refuſe him nothing, and that he ſhould govern him abſolutely. Theſe Bravadoes pleaſed not the King; he was troubled that his Subject ſhould think that he equalled him in Valour; but much more, that he ſhould have the preſumption to hope to govern him, who had ten times more brains and good Judgment then the Mareſhal.

Part II. The vanities of *Byron* become inſupportable.

He eſteems himſelf more the the King who take diſguſt at it.

"It is certainly a noble Ambition, and not "only well placed, but abſolutely neceſſary "for a King, to believe none of his Subjects "more worthy then himſelf. When he hath "not this good opinion of himſelf, he lets "himſelf be governed by him whom he be- "lieves a more able man then himſelf; and by "this means ſoon falls into Captivity: there- "fore though he may be deceived, he ought "ſtill to eſteem himſelf the moſt capable per- "ſon to govern in his whole Realm. I may "ſay rather, that he cannot deceive himſelf in "this, becauſe there is no perſon more proper "then himſelf, however ignorant he be to "rule his Eſtate, God having deſtined this

A good and important reflection.

Part III. "Function to him, and not to others; and "the people being always disposed to receive "Commands when they come out of a sacred "Mouth.

Henry the Great had therefore taken some disgust against the Mareshal of *Byron* by reason of his vanity; so that the Duke of *Savoy*, praising one day the Noble Actions and great Services of *Byron*, both Father and Son, the King answered, "*That it was true, they had "served him well, but that he had taken great "pains to moderate the drunkenness of the Father, "and the violent passions of the Son.* The Duke remembred these words, and caused them to be carried by *Laffin* to *Byron*, who, touched in his most sensible part, was transported to a thousand extravagancies; and having lost all respect, lost likewise that affection he had left for the King. It hath been suspected that he at present abandoned himself to all manner of wicked designs, and that he promised to enter into a League with the *Savoyard*, was to make with the King of *Spain*, on condition that he gave him his Daughter in Marriage, and assisted him to make himself Duke of *Bourgongne*.

The Duke causes to be carried to *Byron* some disadvantagious words of the Kings.

After that the Duke of *Savoy* had remained more then two months in the Court of *France*, shewing, as the Proverb says, *A merry Countenance at an ill Game*; and shadowing his discontent with an apparent joy, but not knowing how to return without shame, nor how to stay longer without any fruit: The King,

King, who would not give him ſubject to ſay that he had treated him with the utmoſt rigour, gave him to underſtand, that if the Marquiſate was ſo commodious to him, and that he could not reſtore it without a notable inconveniency, he would be content to take *la Breſſe* in exchange. This Condition ſeemed no leſs hard to the Duke then that of the reſtitution of the Marquiſate: however, that he might have ſome pretext to retire with honour, he ſeemed not averſe to it; and there were ſome Articles drawn up, which he profeſſed were not diſagreeable to him: But he demanded time to conſider of the Alternative of the Reſtitution or Change, and to take advice of the Grandees of his Eſtate on ſo important a thing. There were granted him to this purpoſe three entire months, which was to the end of *February*, in the year ſixteen hundred. Part II.

The King propoſes to the Duke the exchange of the Marquiſate for *la Breſſe*.

The Duke ſeems not averſe, but takes 3 months to conſider.

A little after he took leave of the King, who conducted him to *Pont de Charenton*; and gave order to the Baron of *Lux*, and to *Praſlin*, to accompany him to the Frontier. He returned by *Champagne* and *Bourgongne*, from which he entred *la Breſſe*, and went to the *Bourg*. They had great joy to ſee him arrived, becauſe they feared leſt he ſhould be arreſted in *France*. Indeed ſome there were would have counſelled the King to have kept him till ſuch time as he ſhould reſtore the Marquiſate: but the King, much offended at this Propoſition, anſwered in anger, *That they ſtudied to diſhonour*

He takes leave of the King, who accompanies him to *Charenton*.

Some had counſelled the King to arreſt him.

The Kings noble Anſwer.

nour him; but that he ſhould chuſe rather to loſe his Crown, then to incur the leaſt ſuſpicion of having falſified his Faith, even to the greateſt of his Enemies.

The three months expired, the King preſſes the Duke to chuſe either the change or the reſtitution. The Duke preſſes the Council of *Spain* to help him.

The three months being expired, and the Duke not having ſatisfied his promiſe, the King was troubled, and preſſed him to reſolve either on the one or the other interchange. The Duke finds new delays, but promiſes him daily that he will ſatisfie him. In the mean time, he remonſtrates to the Council of *Spain* the danger in which he was; that the loſs of the Marquiſate would put him in ſuch an eſtate, that he ſhould not have the power to ſerve the *Spaniards*: that it would open a door to the *French* to go trouble *Italy*; and that this tempeſt, after having laid waſte his Country, would fall upon *Milan*. The Council of *Spain* apprehended well the importance; but acting very ſlowly, were a long time before they reſolved. In fine, the Count of *Fuentes*, Governour of *Milan*, had order, but two months later then was neceſſary puiſſantly to aſſiſt this Prince. He came to this effect to *Milan*, but too late; where, with two Millions of Gold which were ready, he begins to make great preparations.

The Count of *Fuentes* comes to this purpoſe to *Milan*, but too late.

After that, the Duke had by divers Artifices drawn out the Negotiation almoſt two months longer, the King, wearied with theſe delays, prepared himſelf to bind this *Proteus*, who changed himſelf into all ſorts of forms; and to force him to give a certain anſwer.

ſwer. He advanced to *Lyons*, whither he had before ſent his Council, The Duke, knowing that he approached, had recourſe to other cunnings: he ſent to him three Ambaſſadours, who conjoyntly propoſed an Act, by which they declared that their Maſter was ready to accompliſh the Treaty made at *Paris*; and that he promiſed to reſtore the Marquiſate: but he of the three who had the Secret, refuſed to ſign the Articles till firſt the Duke had ſhewed them to his Council, and ſigned them. By this Trick the Duke yet gained ſeven or eight days time: but the King reſolved to preſs him to a Concluſion, ſtill followed his trace, diſcovered his deceits, and left him no further ſubterfuge: he was forced therefore to anſwer poſitively, and he promiſed to ſurrender the Marquiſate by the ſixteenth of *Auguſt*.

Part III. The King again preſſes the Duke to chuſe the change or reſtitution.

He promiſes poſitively to ſurrender the Marquiſate.

Upon this aſſurance, the King cauſed to advance *le Bourg-l'Eſpinaſſe*, an old Colonel of Infantry, with the Troops of the *Suiſſes*, to take poſſeſſion of the Marquiſate. As he approached, the Duke took off his Mask, and anſwered clearly, That according to the Conditions propoſed, War was leſs ſharp to him then Peace. Wherefore the King was obliged to come to that point to which he had long aforeſeen he ſhould come, to wit, an open War: he declared it therefore on the eleventh of the month of *Auguſt*; but with theſe expreſs terms, That he did it only for the Marquiſate, and without prejudice to the Treaty

But when the King ſends his Forces, he takes off his mask, & refuſes.

The King declares War againſt him.

Part III. Treaty of *Vervin*, which he desired to observe inviolably.

He gives advice of it to the neighbouring Princes.

At the same time he gave advice of this Rupture to all the neighbouring Princes, and made them understand the just reasons he had. "This great King knew well, that among "Christians the breach of Peace is extremely "odious; and that without reasons, which "strongly convince our spirits, we ought never "to trouble the publick tranquillity.

He was at present at *Grenoble*, where he had to begin this War only three or four Companies of Ordnance. Some proposed to him, to cause his Regiment of Guards to advance: he answered, that he would not send them from him; that they were the tenth Legion, which never fought without * *Cæsar*. But in a little time the *French* Nobility and the Adventurers flocked to him on all sides, as if they had come to a Marriage or a Ball.

* *Julius Cæsar would never let the tenth Legion fight but with him.*

Byron conquers all in Bresse.

The Mareshal of *Byron*, though already disgusted, having gathered some Troops, spoiled the Country of *Bresse* in many places: with his Cannon he forced the City of *Bourg*, but the Cittadel defended it self better, and proved indeed the only difficulty in this War. *Crequy* entring into *Savoy*, gained the City of *Montmelian* about midnight, but not the Castle.

The Pope Alarm'd at this War sends to the King.

The Pope Alarm'd by the first sparkles of this fire, and fearing lest it should inflame all *Italy*, imployed himself immediately to extinguish

tinguiſh it: he diſpatcht a Prelate, who bore the Title of Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, to remonſtrate unto him the inconveniencies of this Rupture, and to conjure him in the Name of God not to paſs farther. The King aſſured him, that he had no deſign to trouble the Peace of *Italy*; that he was a Chriſtian and juſt Prince; that God had given him a Kingdom ſufficient to content him, but that he deſired to have what belonged to his Crown; that if he had had other more vaſt deſigns, he had made greater preparations. Part III.

The Kings good and Chriſtian Anſwer.

Few days after he departed, and entred himſelf into *Savoy*. His preſence ſo much aſtoniſhed the City of *Chamberry*, that they made the Garriſon depart by a quick Capitulation. He made himſelf after Maſter of *Tarentaiſe* and *la Morienne*, by taking in two or three days the City of *Conſtans*, and that of *la Charbonniere*; which till then had paſſed for impregnable.

The King enters *Savoy*.

Yet the Duke of *Savoy* moved not: he was ſo little concerned, that he Hunted and Danced whilſt his Provinces were deſpoiling: he ſeemed not to be the Adverſary, but the Spectator: his Subjects likewiſe ſeemed not much aſtoniſhed at the Kings Progreſs; they ſaid, that if he took any places in *Savoy*, their Duke would take others in *France*. It could not be divined from whence this great ſecurity proceeded: ſome believed that the Duke aſſured himſelf on I know not what Prognoſtications of Aſtrologers, who had foretold, that

Yet the Duke ſtirs not.

He truſts ſome vain predictions of Aſtrologers

Part III. that in the month of *August* there ſhould be no King in *France*: that which happened to be very true, for at that time he was victorious in the midſt of *Savoy*. Others believed that the Duke yet truſted to the Intelligences he had with the Mareſhal of *Byron*, whoſe fidelity much ſhaken by his artifices while he was in *France*, was now near entirely debauched by thoſe grand Subjects of diſcontent this Mareſhal had received ſince this War. For the King teſtified, that he put not ſo much truſt in him, nor treated him with the ſame freedom he had done before; and he committed the principal direction of this Conqueſt to *Leſdiguieres*, who indeed better knew the Country, and the manner of making War in thoſe Mountains then he. This Preference furiouſly incenſed ſuch a high Spirit, who believed nothing either could or ought to be done without him. Afterwards the refuſals of the King to give him the Government of the City of *Bourg*, put him quite out of his ſenſes. From this time he had none but extravagant and criminal thoughts, and began, as it was ſaid, to treat a League with the *Savoyard*, for the re-kindling a new Civil War in *France*. I cannot relate the particulars of this deſign, becauſe they were never well known.

or to *Byron*, much incenſed againſt the King.

The Duke of *Savoy* believed his Fortreſſes of *Montmelian* in *Savoy*, and of *Bourg* in *Breſſe* impregnable, repoſing the ſecurity of his Country upon them. He was much ſur-

prized

prized to understand that the Marquess of *Brandis*, Governour of the first, had capitulated to surrender it in a certain time. Upon it, he put himself in the field, and used all his endeavours to get into an estate to relieve it. He had recourse to the assistance of the *Spaniards*; but the Count of *Fuentes*, who desired to engage Affairs farther, refused him Forces in his need, and in the mean time the term of the Capitulation being finished, he lost *Montmelian*, to the great astonishment of his Subjects, and no less shame to *Brandis*. Want of Victuals and Ammunition, made him likewise in some weeks lose the Citadel of *Bourg*, which the Governour held out to the last extremity. Part III.

In fine, the Duke takes the field, but does nothing.

The Citadel of *Montelian* taken,

and that of *Bourg*.

The King passing by the side of *Geneva*, submitted the Country of the *Chablais* and the *Faussigni*. The Inhabitants of *Geneva* took the Fort of St. *Katherine*, which the *Savoyards* had built to annoy them, and demolished it. After the taking of this, the King would visit *Geneva*, so famous for being one of the Ramparts of the Protestant Religion. *Theodorus Beza* the Chief as well in Age as in Doctrine of all the *Hugonot* Ministers, made him a Speech in few words. The *Mareshal de Byron* having considered the place which the Inhabitants had been forty years fortifying, with great care and expence, whether to make himself esteemed a great Captain, or to shew the great zeal he had for the *Catholick* Religion, boasted he could take it in

and Fort St. *Katherine*.

The King visits *Geneva*.

Forty

Part III. twenty days. A Speech the King was not pleased with, because *France* had taken it under its Protection, since the Reign of *Francis* the First, and was obliged to defend it against the Duke of *Savoy*, who pretended that Seignory belonged to him.

The Pope endeavors a Peace, and sends to that purpose his Nephew Legat.

In the mean time, the Pope desiring above all things to extinguish the fire of this War, had dispatched towards the King and towards the Duke, his Nephew the Cardinal *Aldobrandin*, who incessantly laboured to make a Peace. His greatest difficulty was to find knots strong and sure enough to hold the Duke of *Savoy*; for those of his promises and his faith, were so uncertain and so slippery, that he could not trust them.

The King comes to *Lyons*, where his Queen expected him.

At the same time the King, whose thoughts of his Marriage the War had not interrupted, imbarqued on the *Rhone*, and went down to *Lyons*; where the Queen his new Spouse was arrived, and expected him.

The Legat likewise comes, and the Ambassadours of *Savoy*.

The Legat would not discontinue the Treaty of Peace, he followed him to *Lyons* for that purpose; where he made his entrance fifteen days after the Queen. The Ambassadours of *Savoy* followed him: but their power was given in such terms, that the Duke might find ways to disavow it. However, when they saw the Citadel of *Bourg* reduced to extremity, they instantly sollicited the Legat to renew the first earnests of the Treaty. But he would do nothing till they had given it him in writing, that they besought it for the

the good of their Maſters Affairs. Part III.

When the Articles were drawn up and agreed, they were ſigned on the one part and the other; and the Peace was publiſhed at *Lyons*, the ſeventeenth of *January* 1601. by which the Duke yielded to the King, and to his Succeſſors Kings of *France*, the Country and Seignories of *Breſſe*, *Bugey*, and *Veramey*, and generally all that appertained to him laying along the River *Rhone*, from the egreſs of *Geneva*; as likewiſe the Bailiwick and Barony of *Gex*: and that in exchange of the Marquiſate of *Saluces*, which the King abſolutely left to him, both for himſelf and his. The Treaty agreed likewiſe, that all the places taken by the King from the Duke of *Savoy*, ſhould be reſtored; but all the Kings pretended Rights againſt the ſaid Duke, ſhould be reſerved to him; according as was contained in the Treaties of *Cateau* in *Cambreſis*, and of *Vervin*. 1601. The Peace agreed, ſigned & publiſhed at *Lyons*.

By this Exchange, both the one and the other equally gained. The King for a Marquiſate of little Extent, diſtant from all his Territories, and encompaſſed by thoſe of *Savoy*, and which he could not keep but by great Garriſons, which would conſume twice more then the Revenue it yielded; gained a Country of more then twenty five Leagues extant, which was bounding upon his, which enlarged his Frontier, in which he had eight hundred Gentlemen, and which was very fertil and abundant, principally in Paſtures to nouriſh Cattel. They both gain by the Exchange.

Part III. Cattel. The Duke appropriating to himself the Marquisate, took a troublesom Thorn out of his foot, or rather a Sword which pierced through his body; and put himself in security. For whilst the *French* held it, he durst not go out of *Turin* but with three or four hundred Horse for his Convoy; and he was forced to maintain great Garrisons in the middle of his Country.

After, the King goes to *Paris* followed by the Queen. He carries her to see his Buildings.

The Treaty being signed, the King departed from *Lyons* by Post, to return to *Paris*; whither the Queen followed him by little Journies. Some time after her Arrival, he led her to see his Buildings of St. *Germain* in *Laye*. This was one of his delights, and certainly a very innocent one, and which agrees well with a powerful Prince, after he hath paid his great Debts, and eased his people of their heavy load of oppressive Impositions. "For by raising these proud Edifices, he leaves "the fair marks of his Greatness and Riches "to Posterity; he embellishes his Kingdom, "attracts the admiration of his people, makes "Strangers know that his Coffers swell "with Treasure, gives life and bread to a "great number of poor Handy-crafts-men, "labours profitably for his own conveniency "and for that of his Successors; and in fine, "makes Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting "flourish, which have ever been infinitely "esteemed by all the most Polite Nations of the World.

Our

Our *Henry* took not this divertiſement, but to recreate his ſpirit after labours, and not to imploy it. "For he had his ſoul too great, "and his Genius too elevated, to dedicate it ſelf "wholly to ſuch mean things, much leſs to fix "it on vain amuſements. It is true, that he "built, that he hunted, that he was merry; "but this was without diverting himſelf too "much from his Affairs, without abandoning "the Helm of his Eſtate, which he held as "firmly and diligently during the Calm, as "during the Tempeſt.

Part III. He divertized, but never imployed himſelf about buildings. *An excellent Reflection.*

Moreover, he had a care not to grow ſleepy whilſt it was fair Weather, which is often deceitful: for beſides that a good King ought to labour within his Eſtate during Peace, as well as without during War; he knew that the *Spaniard* and the *Savoyard* ſtill grumbled, and contrived in their hearts ſome Enterpriſe againſt him. The Count of *Fuentes* having raiſed a great Army to aſſiſt the *avoyard*, was troubled that the Peace had deprived him of the occaſion to imploy them. Some places he had taken in *Picardy* during the War between the two Crowns, had created a vanity in him, and made him believe, that he ſhould always gain the advantage over the *French*. At the ſame time the King of *Spain* had put to Sea a Naval Army, commanded by one *Doria*; which had without doubt ſome deſign on *Provence*, if the Peace had not been made. And though it was concluded, *Fuentes* ceaſed not to make an attempt of an Enterpriſe upon *Marſeilles*,

Count *Fuentes* would ſurprize *Marſeilles* to break the Peace.

Part III. *Marseilles*, to cause a Rupture. Those with whom he held Intelligence to this purpose, offered the King to draw six or seven hundred men into the snare, and keep them Prisoners, or cut them in pieces. But the King judged not so little advantage to countervail the giving subject to the Enemies to break the Peace, and to re-enter into a War; which might have proved very dangerous; they being so powerfully armed. Moreover, he feared lest there were still in his Estate some fire concealed under the embers; which on the noise of a War, might more facilely make their attempts upon his person. For to tell the truth, he had more reason to fear their Knives and Daggers then their Swords. He therefore wisely dissembled this Enterprise, and answered the *Marsellians*: *That he knew not how to steal a Victory; that Ambuscadoes were not honest, but only during War, and that it was necessary for his Honour to take heed, that he did not in any manner contribute to that Rupture the Enemies had a design to make.*

His people might be intrapped by counter-intelligence; but the King will not.

In fine, the *Spaniards* having found that this wise *Argus* had too many eyes, and too much vigilance to be surprized on any side; resolved to imploy their Arms in pious and honourable Enterprises. A part of their Land-Army passed into *Hungary*, which was at that present assaulted by the *Turks*. The Duke of *Merceur* being gone to seek in that Country a juster glory, then in the Civil Wars of *France*, commanded the Emperours Forces. He made known

The *Spaniards* turn their Arms against the Infidels. The Duke of *Merceur* commands the Emperours Forces, & dyes.

known to the Infidels, by many gallant Exploits, particularly by the memorable Retreat of *Caniſe*, that the *French* Valour was choſen by God to ſuſtain the Chriſtian Religion. Nor was there any doubt made, but that he would have quite chaſed them out of that Kingdom, of which they had invaded more then one half, if he had not dyed the year following of a burning Feaver, which ſeized him at *Nurembourg*, as he was about to go pay his devotions at the Shrine of the Lady of *Loretto*. Part III.

There arrived ſome time after an accident by which the King took occaſion to let the *Spaniards* know, that he could not ſuffer any thing againſt his Honour, nor againſt the Dignity of his Eſtate. *Rochepot* was his Ambaſſadour in *Spain*. Some Gentlemen of his Train, of which one was his Nephew, waſhing in the River, chanced to have a quarrel with ſome *Spaniards*; and killing two, ſaved themſelves in the Ambaſſadours Houſe. The friends of the ſlain ſo much excited the people, that they beſieged the Houſe, and were ready to put fire to it. The Magiſtrate, to prevent the Tragick effects of this fury, was conſtrained to do an injuſtice, and to violate the freedom of the Ambaſſadours Houſe; for he ſeized by force, and led the accuſed to priſon. The King of *Spain* being troubled that he had violated the Right of Nations, ſent him to demand pardon of the Ambaſſadour; yet the *French* men ſtill remained Priſoners.

Gentlemen of the Ambaſſadour of *France* in *Spain*, kill ſome *Spaniards*

The Magiſtrate violates the freedom of the Ambaſſadors houſe, and takes them out.

Part III. Diſcourſe of the freedom of Ambaſſadours Palaces.

There were made many Diſcourſes and Writings concerning the Rights and Priviledges of Ambaſſadours. It is true, ſaid they, that an Ambaſſadour hath alone right of Soveraign Juſtice in his Palace; but the people of his Train are ſubject to the Juſtice of the Eſtate in which they are, for thoſe faults they commit out of his Palace; and ſo if they be taken out of it, their Proceſs may be made: and though it be known that this rigour is not generally obſerved, and that the reſpect born to the Ambaſſadours perſon, extends to all thoſe that follow him; yet however this is a Courteſie, and not a Right. But notwithſtanding it is not permitted to go ſeek the Criminal in the Palace of the Ambaſſador, which is a ſacred place, and a certain Sanctuary for his people; yet ought it not however to be abuſed, or made a retreat for wicked perſons, nor give Sanctuary to the Subjects of a Prince againſt the Laws and Juſtice of his Realm: for in ſuch caſes, on complaint to his Maſter, he is obliged to do reaſon.

The King being offended, recals his Ambaſſadour.

Now the King being offended, as he ought to be, at the injury done to *France* in the perſon of his Ambaſſadour, and not judging the ſatisfaction the Magiſtrate had given him ſufficient, commands him immediately to return; which he did, without taking leave of the King of *Spain*. He forbade likewiſe at the ſame time, all Commerce with *Spaniards*: and foreſeeing that in theſe beginnings of the Rupture, they might enterprize ſomewhat on the

he Towns of *Picardy*, he with great diligence departed from *Paris* to visit that Frontier, and came to *Calais*.

Part IV. And goes in haste to *Calais* to visit his Frontier.

The people, who began to taste the sweetness of repose, and to till their Lands with patience, trembled for fear lest a new War should expose them once more to the License of the Souldiers. But God had pity of these poor people: The Pope becoming Mediator to remedy those mischiefs which threatned *Christendom*, happily accommodated the difference. The *Spaniard* remitted the Process and the Prisoners; whom his Holiness consigned some days after into the hands of the Count of *Bethune*, Ambassadour for *France* at *Rome*; and the King afterwards sent an Ambassadour into *Spain*, which was the Count of *Barraut*.

The Pope undertakes to accommodate the difference, and doth it.

Whilst the King was at *Calais*, whither as we have said he went, the Arch-Duke, who was before *Ostend*, where he continued that Siege * the most famous that ever was since that of *Troy*, feared with some reason, lest the Kings approach should retard the progress of his Enterprise, in which he had already lost so many men, so much time spent, so many Cannon shot, so much money, and such stores of Ammunition: he sent therefore to complement him, promising him on the part of *Spain* satisfaction for the violence done to the Lodgings of his Ambassadour, but intreating him, that the Besieged might not prevail themselves of this Conjuncture.

The Arch-Duke besieging *Ostend*, sends to complement the King.

*This siege lasted 3 years, 3 months, and three days.

Part III.

The King returns the Civility to the Arch-Duke.

The King, who never let himself be overcome by Courtesie no more then by Arms, sent the Duke of *Aiguillon*, eldest Son of the Duke of *Mayenne*, to assure him that he desired to maintain the Peace; that he was not advanced on the Frontiers but to dissipate some Designs which were contriving, and that he hoped in the equity of the King of *Spain*, which he doubted not would do him reason.

The Queen of *England* sends likewise to compliment him: and he answers it by *Byron*.

Whilst he was at *Calais*, Queen *Elizabeth* sent likewise to visit him, by my Lord *Edmonds* her principal Confident. For answer to which obliging Civilty, he caused the Mareshal of *Byron* to pass into *England*, accompanied by the Count *d'Auvergne*, and the choice of all the Nobility of the Court, to represent to her the displeasure the King had, finding himself so near her, that he could not enjoy the sight of her.

To whom she shews the Earl of *Essex* head.

This Queen endeavoured by all means possible, to make known to the *French* her Greatness and Power. One day holding *Byron* by the hand, she shewed him a great number of heads planted on the Tower of *London*, telling him that in that manner they punished Rebels in *England*, and recounting to him the reasons she had to put to death the Earl of *Essex*, whom she had once so tenderly loved. Those who heard the Discourse, remembred it afterwards, when they saw the Mareshal *Byron* fallen into the same misfortune, and lose his Head, after having

having loſt the favour of his King. Part III.

We muſt not forget, how that before the King made his Voyage to *Calais*, he had led the Queen with him to enjoy the *Jubilee* in the City of *Orleans*, where the holy Father had ordained the Stations for *France* to begin. His piety which was ſincere and unfeigned, gave a fair Example to his people, who ſee him go to Proceſſions with great devotion, and pray to God with no leſs attention, his heart agreeing with his lips. He laid the firſt ſtone to the Foundation of the Church of the holy Croſs at *Orleans*, which the *Hugonots* had miſerably thrown down, forty years before, and gave a conſiderable ſum of money to rebuild it.

The King & Queen enjoy the *Jubilee* at *Orleans.*

All *France* during this holy *Jubilee*, had inſtantly demanded of Heaven, that it would be pleaſed to give them a *Daulphine*, to deliver them from thoſe misfortunes wherein they ſhould be plunged, if the King ſhould dye without Male-children. Their Vows were heard, and the Queen happily brought to bed of a Son at *Fountainbleau*, on the day of St. *Coſmo*, being the twenty ſeventh of *September*. They gave him at his Baptiſm the Name of *Lewis*, ſo ſweet and dear to *France* for the memory of the great St. *Lewis*, and of the good King *Lewis* XII. Father of the people. Afterwards was appropriated to him the ſirname of *Juſt*; and we at preſent believe his having been the Father of *Lewis the Wiſe and Victorious*, none of the leaſt worthy of his Ti-

The Queen brought to bed of a *Daulphine*, who is named *Lewis*, after firnamed *The Juſt.*

Part III. tles. His Birth was preceded by a great Earthquake, which happened some days before. The Birth was very hard, and the Infant laboured till he was all of a purple-colour; which possibly ruined within the principal Organs of Health and good Constitution. The King invoking on him the Benediction of Heaven, gave him likewise his, and put his Sword in his hand, praying to God, *That he would give him the grace to use it only for his glory, and for the defence of the people.* The Princes of the Blood which were with him in the Chamber of the Queen, all of them saluted the *Daulphine* one after another. I omit how expres Courriers carried this News into all the Provinces, the publick Rejoycings throughout the whole Kingdom, particularly in the great City of *Paris*, who as much loved *Henry* the Great, as they had hated his Predecessour; the Complements the King received on his part from all the Potentates of *Europe*; and the accustomed Present of the holy Father in like occasions, to wit, the blessed Swathling-bands, which he sent by *Seigneur Barbarino*, who was afterwards Cardinal and Pope, named *Urban* VIII.

The King gives him his blessing, and puts his Sword in his hand.

Five days before, the Queen of *Spain* was brought to bed of her first Child, which was a Daughter, whom at the Font of Baptism they named *Anne*. The *Spaniards* rejoyced no less then if it had been a Son: for in that Country the Females succeed to the Crown. Those amongst the *French* who penetrated farthest

Birth of the *Infanta* of *Spain*, named *Anne*; who after espoused King *Lewis* xiii.

farthest into things to come, took likewise part in this Joy, but for another reason, which was, that this Princess being of the same age with the *Daulphine*, it seemed that Heaven had made the one to be born for the other, and that she ought one day be his Spouse; as in effect *Lewis* the Thirteenth had this happiness, and *France* still possesses it; admiring in all occasions the rare Wisdom, the exemplary Piety, and heroick Constancy of this great Princess. Part III.

In acknowledgment of the grace which God had done to the King, in giving him a *Daulphine*, which was the sum of his wishes, he redoubled his care and diligence to acquit himself well of what he ought to his Estate, to better, as he said, the succession of his Son. We will here recount some Establishments and Orders he made to that purpose.

The King makes divers Orders for the good of the Estate

Need of Monies having obliged him during the Siege of *Amiens* to create Triennial Officers in his Revenues; when it was passed, he knew that there was no need of so many people to rifle his purse; and that it was impossible but some little should every day remain in the hands of every one of these: and therefore he suppressed these new Officers, and commanded that the ancient and Alternative ones should re-imburse the Triennial. From this suppression were excepted the Treasurers of the Exchequer, and those of casual Forfeitures or Fines.

He suppresses the Triennial Officers for Revenues.

Rosny had so well bridled both the Gatherers and the Farmers, that they could no longer

Part III.

He establisheth a Chamber of Justice to call Treasurers and Collectors to account.

er devour those great Morsels they did heretofore. But this was not yet enough: they were in such manner gorged before he was Superintendent, that the King with infinite Justice ordained a Tribunal, composed of a certain number of Judges chosen out of the Soveraign Courts, and called it, *The Chamber Royal*; whom he charged to make an exact search of the misdemeanours of those who had managed the Kings Monies. This Chamber made a great many disembogue: however, a great part found the means to escape them; some out of a Consideration of their Alliances, others by force of Money, gaining those who were near the King, principally his Mistresses, and corrupting the Judges themselves. "So much is it true that Gold pierces "every where, and that nothing is proof "against this pernicious Metal. We need not "then wonder, if those people filled their "Coffers as full as they could, since the fuller "they heaped them, the more facile was their "justification.

The only remedy against their thefts.

I have already said it, and I say it again, (for it cannot be too often nor too much observed) that there is no remedy to hinder this disorder, which is the greatest of all disorders in the Estate, and the cause of all others, save only the vigilance and exactness of the King. "He must himself hold the strings of his purse, "have his eye still upon his Coffers, know "punctually what is in them, what comes out "of them; what ways his monies accrue, to "what

" what uſes they are imployed, who are they " that manage them: and above all, he muſt " make them give a good account, as our *Henry* " did, that if they be honeſt men, they cannot " be corrupted; and if they are Knaves, not " have the means to act their knavery. Part III.

He was made to know, that there were two other diſorders in his Realm which extremely impoveriſhed it, and drew from it all the Gold and Silver. The one was the tranſportation of it to ſtrange Countries, into *Italy*, *Germany*, and *Switzerland*, where the little Potentates melted it, and made money of a baſer Alloy. The other, was the Luxury which conſumed likewiſe a great quantity in Embroideries, Silver and Gold Lace on Cloaths, and no leſs in the gilding of Wainſcots and Chimneys, and divers Moveables.

The King prohibits the tranſport of gold or ſilver out of his Kingdom.

He made two ſevere Edicts, which prohibited theſe two abuſes. For the firſt, he renewed the ancient Orders concerning the tranſport of Gold and Silver; adding the puniſhment of the Halter to the Tranſgreſſors; and commanding all Governours to watch diligently the Obſervation of theſe his Prohibitions, and not to give any Paſs-ports to the contrary; otherwiſe he declared them partakers in ſuch Tranſports.

and wearing gold and ſilver lace, or gildings.

By the ſecond, he prohibited under the penalty of great Fines for the firſt time, and of Impriſonment for the ſecond, the wearing of Gold and Silver upon Cloaths, or imploying it in Gildings. This Edict was rigorouſly obſerved,

Part III. ved, becauſe it excepted no perſon; the King himſelf ſubmitting to the Law he made, and having looked with an ill Countenance on a Prince of the Blood who obeyed not this Reformation.

There was likewiſe expended a prodigious quantity of money in Silks; by the buying of which, all our money was gotten into Strangers hands. The King ſeeing that, and conſidering that the uſe of theſe Stuffs was very good and commodious, thought it beſt to introduce the Manufacture into *France*; to the end the *French* might gain what was now gained by the ſtrangers. To this purpoſe he gave order for the planting of a great number of white Mulberry-trees in thoſe Countries where they would beſt thrive, and particularly in *Touraine*, to nouriſh Silk-worms; and that people ſhould be provided who underſtood how to prepare the Webs, and put to work the labour of theſe precious Caterpillers.

Introduces the Manufacture of Silk into France.

If care had been taken after his death to maintain this Order, and to extend it to other Provinces, it might have ſpared *France* more then five Millions, which it every year ſends out to provide ſilk Stuffs: beſides, a Million of perſons, uſeleſs for other labours, as are old people, Maids and Children, might have gained a living by it, and the Employers more eaſily have afforded to pay the Impoſts and Taxes out of the profit they had made of their induſtry.

There was yet a much greater miſchief, which,

which, as we may ſay, dryed up the very Intrails of the Kingdom; this was the exceſſive Uſury. The ill Husbands, that is to ſay, the greateſt part of the Nobility, borrowed money at ten or twelve in the hundred. In which there was two great inconveniences. The firſt, That the Intereſts undermining by little and little in ſeven or eight years, dug up the foundations of the richeſt and moſt ancient Houſes, which are, as we may ſay, the Props and Pillars that uphold the State. The ſecond, That the Merchants finding this conveniency of laying out their money to ſo great profit, and without any hazard, abſolutely abandoned all Commerce; "the ſtreams of "which once dryed up, there muſt need fol- "low a famine of Gold and Silver in the King- "dom: for *France* hath no other Mines then "its Traffick, and the diſtribution of its Mer- "chandizes.

Part III. The Uſury exceſſive in *France*, which cauſed.

the ruine of the beſt families.

and the Merchants to abandon all Traffick.

These Conſiderations obliged the King not only to prohibit all Uſuries, but lay a Penalty of the Confiſcation of the Sum lent, and great Fines beſide. Afterwards the Parliament deputed ſome Counſellours in all Provinces to make inquiſition after Uſurers, and to reduce all Intereſts or Hypothecated Rents to fix and a half in the hundred. They were before at ten or twelve, as we have ſaid. The reaſon of which was, becauſe when they were conſtituted, money was much more ſcarce: now ſince it was extremely multiplied, ſince the diſcovery of the *Indies*, it was juſt to abate its intereſts.

The King reduces Intereſts to fix in the hundred.

Part III.

interests: And it was for this reason that it was afterwards put at six, and may possibly one day be reduced lower.

His great care to enrich his Kingdom.

Out of the same design to enrich his people, and to bring abundance and plenty into his Kingdom, the King continually received all Propolals which might serve to enlarge Commerce, to bring Commodity to his people, and to till and make fruitful the most sterile places. He endeavoured as much as was possible to make Rivers Navigable. He caused to be repaired all Bridges and Causways, and the great Roads to be paved; knowing that whilst they are not well kept, Carriages find but a difficult passage, and Commerce is by that means interrupted. From whence happen these same disorders in the œconomy of an Estate, as doth in that of a mans body, when it finds obstructions, and when the passage of the blood and spirits are not free.

When he passed through the Countries, he curiously regarded all things, took notice of the necessities and disorders, and immediately remedied all with a great diligence. Under his favour and protection were established in many places of the Kingdom Manufactures of of Linen and Woollen Cloths, Laces, Iron Ware, and many other things.

He favors the Establishment of Manufactures.

After his example, all labour for their benefit.

After his Examples, the Burgesses repaired their houses which the War had ruined. The Gentlemen having laid by their Arms with only a Switch in their hand, dedicated themselves

ſelves to make their Eſtates, and augment their Revenues. All the people were attentive to their work: and it was a wonder to ſee this Kingdom, which five or ſix years before had been, as we may ſay, a Den of Serpents and venemous Beaſts, being filled with Thieves, Robbers, Vagrants, Rake-hells, and Beggers, changed by the diligence of the King into a Hive of innocent Bees, who ſtrove, as it were, with envy to each other, to give proofs of their induſtry, and to gather Wax and Honey. Idleneſs was a ſhame, and a kind of Crime; and indeed it is, as the Proverb ſays, the Mother of all Vices. "*That ſpirit which takes no care to* "*imploy it ſelf ſeriouſly in ſomething, is unpro-* "*fitable to it ſelf, and pernicious to the Publick.* And for theſe Reaſons did the Provoſts in that time make diligent ſearch after Loyterers, Vagabonds, and idle perſons, and ſent them to ſerve the King in his Gallies, to oblige them perforce to work. Part III. Idleneſs puniſhed.

There is no happineſs ſo ſtable and aſſured, but it may be eaſily troubled: there arrived this year two things which might have overturned all *France*, had not the King in a good hour ſubverted them. 1602. The King remedies two things capable to overthrow *France*.

The Aſſembly of the Notables or Chiefs at *Rouen*, which was held in the year 1596. to raiſe money for the King to continue the War, and pay his Debts, had granted him, as we have ſaid, the Impoſition of a *Sol pour livre* on all Merchandizes carried into walled Cities. "The Eſtate (ſays *Tacitus*, the greateſt Politi-

"tian

Part III. "tian among Historians) cannot be maintained without Forces, nor the Forces without "Payment, nor they paid without Impositions: by consequence therefore they are necessary; and it is just that every one should "contribute to the Expences of an Estate of "which he makes a part, as well as partake of "those Conveniences and that Protection it "enjoys. But these Impositions ought to be "moderate, proportionate to the power of "every one; and every one ought to bear his "part. Moreover, it should be easie to perceive that the expence of raising them exceed not the principal; that they be not "laid so, as to appear odious, as on Merchandizes which nourish the poor: and that, in "fine, they be blood drawn gently from the "veins, and not marrow forced from the "bones. Now the Imposition of a *Sol pour livre* was of this nature. It was very oppressive: for in every City they searched the Merchants Goods, opened their Bales, and saw what every one brought: so that liberty was quite lost in the Kingdom. Moreover, it was excessive: for any Merchandize being ten or twelve times sold, it was found that it paid as much Impost as it was worth. Moreover, there was great expence in the sale of it: for men were forced to imploy as many Factors as would have composed an Army; who desiring all to make themselves rich as well as their Masters, were so vexatious to the Merchants, that they became desperate. And that was

The Tax of a *Sol pour livre* burthensom.

was moſt ſtrange, was, that there were in the Kings Council Penſioners to theſe Farmers, who ſupported them in their violences, and upheld them againſt all Complaints made of their miſdemeanours. Part III.

The people are always ſubject to this Criminal Errour, That when Juſtice is denied them, they may do it themſelves; and have recourſe to force, when their prayers cannot prevail. This is the cauſe of almoſt all Seditions; and this is it which made all thoſe beyond the *Loire*, incenſed at this Impoſition, drive away the Factors, and, which is more, kill ſome of them. The Farmers on the other ſide ſharpned the miſchief by their furious threats, that they would diſmantle the rebellious Cities, that they would build Citadels to keep them in awe. And I believe that theſe Gentlemen did deſire it ſhould be ſo, not out of love to the Kings Authority, which they had ſtill in their mouths, but for their proper revenge, and particular advantage. It cauſes commotions in the Provinces

The King having advice of theſe Commotions, fearing leſt they were raiſed by the Emiſſaries of the Faction of the Duke of *Byron*, which he had then newly diſcovered, a little after *Eaſter* departed from *Fountainbleau*, came from *Blois*, and from thence to *Poictiers*. There he favourably hearkned to the Complaints of his people, and remonſtrated to the Deputies of the Cities of *Guyenne*, *That the Impoſt raiſed were not to enrich his Miniſters and Favourites, as his Predeceſſour had done;* The King to appeaſe them, goes to *Poictiers*. His wiſe and juſt Remonſtrance to the Deputies of *Guyenne*.

Part III. *but to ſupport the neceſſary Charges of his Eſtate; That if his demeans had been ſufficient for it, he would not have taken any thing out of his Subjects purſes; but ſince he had firſt imployed all his* * *own, it was juſt they ſhould contribute ſome of theirs: That he paſſionately deſired the eaſe of his Subjects; and that none of his Predeceſſours had ſo much deſired their prayers to God as he, to bleſs the increaſe of his Realm: That thoſe Alarms given them that he had a deſign to build Caſtles in the Cities, were falſe and ſeditious; for he deſired to have no other Forts then in the hearts of his Subjects.*

* *He had ſold the Lands of his Patrimony.*

He calms the Seditions, and revokes the *Sol pour livre.*

By theſe ſweet Remonſtrances, he calmed all the Seditions, without having need of chaſtiſing them, ſave only that the Conſuls of *Limoges* were depoſed, and the *Pancarte* (for ſo it was called the *Sol pour livre*) eſtabliſhed. But this was only for the honour of the Royal Authority: for ſoon after, this Prince, the moſt juſt and beſt that ever was, knowing the extreme Vexations it cauſed, revoked and utterly aboliſhed it.

Conſpiracy of the Mareſhal *Byron.*

The ſecond thing which gave him yet more trouble, and which was capable to overthrow his Kingdom, if it were not remedied, was, the Conſpiracy of Mareſhal *Byron*. It is to be underſtood, that *Laffin* had been the principal Inſtrument of Intelligence between the Mareſhal and the Duke of *Savoy*: he had carried and re-carried Letters, and had had ſome Conference with the Duke and with the Count of *Fuentes*; ſo that he underſtood the whole Intrigue.

trigue. But seeing that there is no assurance in the words of the *Savoyard*, and that *Byron* began to shake, he resolved to discover the whole Plot to the King; were it that he feared lest if he should too long delay it, it might be discovered other ways; or that he hoped by this Service to gain a great recompence, and restore himself to the Kings favour, with whom he stood on very ill terms.

Laffin discovers it to the King.

Having laid this design, he imployed the * *Vidame* of *Chartres* his Nephew, to obtain from the King his Grace and Oblivion of all passed, on condition that he discovered to him the Complices of the Conspiracy, and furnished him with proofs. He had preserved several Letters committed to his keeping; but they said not enough, nor spoke so clearly as to make a Conviction. But to pass an absolute one, see what he did.

* Vidame *is a Lord who holds his Lordship in Fief of a Bishop.*

Byron had some Notes written with his own had, wherein the Conspiracy was laid down in Articles. *Laffin* remonstrated to him, that it was an imprudence to keep them, and to communicate them, because his Writing was too well known: that it would be more secure to make a Copy, and burn the Original. *Byron* approving his counsel, gives them him to transcribe. He indeed transcribes them whilst *Byron* lay on his Bed: afterwards giving him the Copy, and ruffling up the Original, he makes shew of casting it into the fire; but by a premeditated cunning, he casts in some other Papers, and keeps them. A thing of this

How he got the Notes written with *Byrons* own hand.

Part III. importance deserved well the care of *Byron* himself in its burning: but he not taking it, because God so permitted, that negligence cost him his life, as we shall see.

After this, *Laffin* continuing still his divices to endeavour yet to gather some more particular Secrets, he went disguised to *Milan*, and conferred with the Count *Fuentes*: but this close and able *Spaniard*, finding well that he would betray them, shewed himself more reserved. It hath been reported, that *Laffin* having knowledge of this distrust, was fearful lest he should make him away, and therefore returned by the unusual and unfrequented ways: of which the Duke of *Savoy* being advertized by *Fuentes*, kept Prisoner the Secretary of *Laffin* named *Renaze*, for fear lest he should go serve as a Witness against *Byron*.

The Duke of *Savoy* keeps *Renaze Laffins* Secretary.

In their Conferences they had proposed to dismember the Kingdom of *France*: That the Duke of *Savoy* should have *Provence* and the *Daulphinate*; *Byron*, *Bourgongne*, and *la Bresse*, with the third Daughter of the Duke in Marriage, and fifty thousand Crowns for Dower: some others should be Lords of other Provinces, with the quality of Peers: That all these little Soveraigns should hold their Right from the King of *Spain*: That to compass this design, the *Spaniards* should with a puissant Army enter the Kingdom, and the *Savoyard* with another: That they should cause the *Hugonots* to stir, and at the same time revive many discontents in several places, and animate the people,

Propositions betwixt *Byron*, the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Count *Fuentes*.

people, already much incenſed by the *Pancarte*, or Tax of a *Sol pour livre*. Part III.

All theſe Propoſitions, ſay ſome, were made in the time of the War againſt *Savoy*; and the Mareſhal of *Byron* grown outragious, at the Kings refuſal to give him the Citadel of *Bourg*, had not only lent his ear, but had engaged himſelf very far in theſe damnable deſigns. However, he ſeemed to have repented himſelf: for he had confeſſed them to the King walking with him in the Cloiſter of the *Cordeliers* at *Lyons*, and had demanded pardon of him; but he had neglected to take an abolition or ſcript of Indempnity, contrary to the advice of the Duke *d'Eſſernon*, who was more wiſe and conſiderate then he.

Byron had demanded pardon of the King, but after fell again.

But a little after, repenting himſelf for having repented, he was returned to his firſt fault, and yet entertained Correſpondence with Strangers. Moreover, he ſpoke of the King with little reſpect, abaſing the Splendour of his worthy Actions, glorifying his own, and boaſting that he had put the Crown on his head, and preſerved *France*. In fine, all his Diſcourſes were only Bravadoes, Rhodomontadoes, and Threats.

He ſpeaks ill of the King, and boaſts exceſſively of himſelf

All this was reported to the King: It was told him that he undervalued his great Acts, extolled the Power of the King of *Spain*, praiſed the Wiſdom of that Princes Council, his liberality in recompencing all good Services, and his zeal to defend the true Religion. The King anſwered plainly and prudently to

Part III. those that made him these Reports: *That he knew the heart of* Byron, *that it was faithful and affectionate: that in truth his tongue was intemperate; but that in favour of those good Actions he had done, he could pardon his ill Discourses.*

Two things compleat his loss.

Now two things compleated his loss, and obliged the King to search into the very bottom of his wicked designs. The first was the too great number of his friends, and the affection of the Souldiery, which he made boast of, as if they had been absolute dependants on his Command, and capable to do whatever he would. The second, the most particular friendship he had with the Count *d'Auvergne*, Brother by the Mothers side to *Madamoiselle d'Entragues*, who was called the Marchioness of *Verneuil*. For by the one he begat a jealousie in the King, and made himself be feared; and by the other he rendred himself odious to the Queen, who imagined, and possibly not without cause, that he would make a Party in the Kingdom to maintain that Rival and her Children, to her prejudice.

Laffin comes to Court, & reveals all to the King.

Now the King desiring to search the farthest he could into this Affair, sends for *Laffin*, who comes to *Fountainbleau*, more then a month before the King departed towards *Poictou*. He had at first some very secret Entertainments with him, afterwards very publick ones; and gave him great quantities of Papers; amongst others, those *Memoires* or Notes written by *Byrons* own hand, of which

we

we have before ſpoken. That which *Laffin* revealed to the King, begat great inquietudes in his ſpirit; ſo that in all the Voyages of *Poictiers* he was obſerved extremely penſive; and the Court, after his example, was plunged in a ſad aſtoniſhment; though none could divine the cauſe of it. Part III.

At his Return from *Poictiers* to *Fountainbleau*, he ſent for the Duke of *Byron* to come to him. The Duke at firſt doubted to go, and excuſed himſelf with many weak reaſons. He preſſes him, and ſends to him ſome of his Eſquires; afterwards the Preſident *Janin* brought him word, that he ſhould receive no harm; which was, provided he put himſelf into an eſtate to receive grace, and aggravated not his Crime, by his pride and by his Impenitence.

The King ſends for *Byron* to Court, who at firſt excuſes himſelf.

Byron knew that *Laffin* had made a Voyage to Court; but he was more aſſured of that man then of himſelf. Moreover, the Baron of *Lux* his Confident, who was then there, had told him that *Laffin* had without doubt kept his Counſel, and not revealed any thing which might hurt him. *De Lux* believed ſo, becauſe the King after having entertained *Laffin*, had told him with a merry Countenance, *I am glad I have ſeen this man; he hath eaſed me of many diſtruſts and ſuſpicions of ſpirit.*

In the mean time the friends of *Byron* writ to him, that he ſhould not be ſuch a Fool as to bring his head to the Court; that it would be more ſecure for him to juſtifie himſelf by

Part III. Attorney then in perſon. But notwithſtanding this advice, and againſt biting of his own Conſcience, after having ſome time deliberated, he took Poſt and came to *Fountainbleau*, now when the King no longer expected him, but prepared to ſeek him.

In the end *Byron* comes.

The Hiſtories of that time, and many other Relations, recount exactly all the Circumſtances of the Impriſonment, Proceſs, and Death of that Mareſhal. I ſhall content my ſelf to relate only the chief.

The inſolence and blindneſs of this unhappy man cannot be ſufficiently admired at, nor on the contrary the goodneſs and clemency of the King be enough praiſed, who endeavoured to overcome his obſtinacy. "Confeſſion of a fault is the firſt mark of "Repentance. The King taking him in private, inſtantly conjured him to declare all thoſe Intelligences and Treaties he had made with the Duke of *Savoy*; engaging his faith that he would bury all in an eternal oblivion: That he knew well enough all the particulars, but deſired to underſtand them from his mouth, ſwearing to him, that though his fault ſhould be greater then the worſt of Crimes, his confeſſion ſhould be followed by an abſolute pardon. *Byron*, inſtead of acknowledging it, or at leaſt excuſing himſelf with modeſty, as ſpeaking to his King who was offended; inſolently anſwered him, that he was innocent, and that he was not come to juſtifie himſelf, but to underſtand the names of his Back-biters, and demand

The King conjures him the firſt time to confeſs the truth.

He inſolently vindicates himſelf.

demand Justice, which otherwise he would do himself. Though this too haughty answer aggravated much his offence, the King ceased not sweetly to tell him, that he should think farther of it, and that he hoped he would take better Counsel. Part III.

The same day after Supper, the Count of *Soissons* exhorted him likewise, on the part of the King, to confess the truth; concluding his Remonstrance with that Sentence of the Wiseman, *Sir, know that the anger of the King is as the Messenger of Death.* But he answered him with more fierceness then he had done the King.

The King prays the Count of *Soissons* to exhort him to confess his crime. But he is more obstinate.

On the morrow morning the King walking in his Gardens, conjured him the second time to confess the Conspiracy: but he could draw nothing from him, but protestations of innocency, and threatnings of his Accusers.

The King speaks to him the second time, but in vain.

Upon this the King felt himself agitated even at the bottom of the soul with divers thoughts, not knowing what he ought to do. The affection he had born him and his great Services, withheld his just anger: on the other side, the blackness of his crime, his pride and obstinacy gave reins to his Justice, and obliged him to punish the Criminal. Besides that, the danger with which both his Estate and Person were threatned, seemed impossible to be prevented, but by cutting off the head of a Conspiracy, whose bottom was scarce visible.

He is troubled what to resolve on.

In this trouble of spirit he retired into his Closet, and falling on his knees, prayed to God

Part III. God with all his heart to inspire him with a good resolution. He was accustomed to do thus in all his great Affairs; "esteeming God "as his surest Counsellour, and most faithful "assistance. At his coming from prayers, as he said afterwards, he found himself delivered from the trouble wherein he was, and resolved to cast *Byron* into the hands of Justice, if his Council found that the proofs they had by writing were so strong, that there need no doubt be made of his Condemnation. He chose for this purpose four persons of those which composed it; to wit, *Bellievre*, *Villeroy*, *Rosny*, and *Sillery*, and shewed them the proofs. They all told him with one voice, that they were more than sufficient.

He resolvs to leave him to Justice.

Yet after this he would make a third tryal on this proud heart. He imployed this last time Remonstrances, Prayers, Conjurations, and assurances of pardon, to oblige him to acknowledge his Crime: but he answered still in the same manner; adding, that if he knew his Accusers, he would break their heads.

Yet trys the third time to draw truth from him.

In fine, the King wearied with his Rhodomontadoes and obstinacy, left him, giving him these for his last words; *Well then, we must learn the truth in another place. Farewel Baron of Byron.* This word was as lightning, the Vant-Courrier of the Thunder-bolt he was about to throw: the King by it degarding him of so many eminent Dignities with which he had honoured him, shewed that he was about to abase him much more then ever he had raised him.

He finds it in vain, and leaves him.

At

At his coming forth of the Queens Chamber, where he played at *Primero*, *Vitry* Captain of the Kings Life-Guard demanded his Sword, and Arreſted him as his Priſoner. *Praſlin* likewiſe Captain of the Guards ſecured the Count of *Auvergne*; and on the morrow putting them in Boats on the *Seine*, conducted them with a good Convoy by Water to the *Baſtille*. Part III. *Byron* and the Count of *Auvergne* Arreſted Priſoners.

Byron had a very great number of friends: but on this occaſion wherein he was accuſed to have conſpired againſt the perſon of the King, they were all mute and ſtruck dumb. His kindred which were found at the Court, went to caſt themſelves on their knees before the King, not to demand Juſtice of him, but to implore his mercy. The Lord *de la Force*, afterward Mareſhal of *France*, ſpoke for them all. If *Byron* had at firſt ſpoke with ſo much humility and ſubmiſſion as they did, he had without doubt obtained his grace: but it was now too late; there was now no more room for Clemency, it had given place to Juſtice. His Kindred intercede for him.

The King commanded the Parliament to make his Proceſs, and ſent particular Commiſſion to the chief Preſident, and to the Preſident *Potier Blan-Meſnil*, and two Counſellours, to draw up the inſtructions at the requeſt of the Attorney-General. The Parliament make his Proceſs.

The Proofs were very ſtrong, and the Defence of *Byron* wery weak. He made it plainly appear in a buſineſs wherein he acted for his Life, He defends himſelf weakly.

Part III. Life, that he had less brains then heart. For he presently acknowledged his Writings; which he might have denied, and have gained some time to have made it be proved. This piece had been written in the time of the War of *Savoy*. He pretended that the King being at *Lyons*, had pardoned him all his rebellious Motions. But the King sent Letters under his Great Seal to the Parliament, by which he revoked that grace. And no great consideration was had upon it: for first, that grace he had granted him, was but verbal; and in the second place, the Parliament held it for a Maxime, That there are Crimes the King cannot pardon; as those of *Læsæ Majestatis*, Divine and Humane; and those which are of a horrible Scandal, and great prejudice to the Publick. When they came to the re-examination and confronting of Witnesses, and presented *Laffin* to *Byron*, instead of reproaching him, as a man whom an hundred reproaches might have rendred incapable of bearing witness, he acknowledged him for an honest Man, and a brave Gentleman: but afterwards when he hrard his Deposition read, he began to charge him with injuries, to call him Traytor, Magician, and Divilish Fellow. But the time was past, nor were his reproaches any more valuable.

Letters of the King revoking the pardon granted him at *Lyons*.

He reproacheth not *Laffin*.

Renaze appears before him, at which he is much astonished

He believed that *Renaze* was still a Prisoner in *Piedmont*: but he had escaped some time before, and was now presented to him. He believed that he saw a Fantasm or Ghost; he remained astonished and dumb; and without making

making any exception againſt him, heard his Depoſition, which agreed with that of *Laffin*. They depoſed, beſides what we have already ſaid, That he had complotted with the Governour of Fort St. *Katherine* to kill the King when he went to receive that place: That *Byron* was to march a little before him clad in a certain faſhion, to the end he might be known. They ſaid likewiſe, that he had another deſign to take away the King when he ſhould be hunting, or other where ill accompanied, and carry him into *Spain*. Part III.

The Charge of the Impeachment thus made in the *Baſtille* by four Commiſſioners, he was conducted to the Palace down the River, guarded on both ſides by the Regiment of Guards. He was heard in Parliament ſeated on the Foot-ſtool, all the Chambers of the Aſſemblies, but the Peers, being preſent, though they had been likewiſe called; and afterwards re-conducted to the *Baſtille*.

He is conducted to the Parliament, & heard.

On the morrow, being the laſt of *July*, it was put to the Vote: of one hundred and fifty Judges, there was not one who concluded not of his death. He was declared *Attainted and convicted of the Crime of* Læſæ Majeſtatis, *for the Conſpiracies made by him againſt the perſon of the King, Deſigns upon his Eſtate, Treaſons and Treaties with his Enemies, being Marſhal of the Armies of the ſaid King. And for reparation of his Crimes, deprived of all his Eſtates, Honours, and Dignities, and condemned to have his head cut off in the place of the* Greve; *his Goods,*

Sentence of death voted againſt him.

Part III. *Goods, moveable and immoveable, taken and confiscated to the King; his Lands of* Byron *for ever deprived of the Title of Peerage; and those and all his other Lands re-united to the Demains of the Crown.*

The King removes the execution to the *Bastille.*

The King under a pretext of doing a favour to his Kindred, but fearing indeed some Tumult, because he was much loved of the Souldiery, and had a great number of friends in Court, removed the place of his Execution, and would have it done in the *Bastille.* The Chancellour going with the chief President, caused him to be led to the Chappel, where about ten of the Clock in the morning he pronounced his Sentence, which he heard with one Knee on the ground, with a great deal of patience: only when they came to these words, *Conspiracies against the person of the King*, he rise up, and cryed out, *There is no such thing, that is false; blot out that.* In fine, the Chanchellour, according to form, re-demanded of him the Coller of his Order, his Ducal Crown, and his Mareshals Staff. He had not the two last with him, but only the first, which he drew out of his pocket, and gave.

Sentence pronounced.

It will be needless to recount all his Discourses, his Reproaches, his Passions, his Laments, his Exclamations, and an hundred other Extravagancies, (for so we may call them) with which he was transported.

His Head cut off.

About five a Clock that Evening, he was led to the Scaffold, where he had his head cut off.

off. It was obſerved that it bounded three times, forced by the impetuoſity of his ſpirits, which were tranſported; and that there iſſued more blood out of it, then out of the trunk of his body. He was carried to the Church of St. *Paul*, where he was buried without any Ceremony, but with a great concourſe of people, who had all tears in their eyes, and lamented that brave Courage which a deteſtable Ambition, and a too boundleſs Pride, had brought to ſo unhappy an end. Part III.

It is convenient to underſtand, that this Mareſhal was very ignorant, but extremely curious in the Predictions of Aſtrologers, Diviners, Necromancers, and other Deceivers. It was held likewiſe, that *Laffin* had gained his favour by making him believe that he talked with the Devil, and that he had aſſured him that he ſhould be a Soveraign. It was ſaid likewiſe, that being young, he went one day diſguiſed to ſee a Teller of Good-fortune, who foretold that he ſhould be a very great Lord, but that he ſhould have his head cut off: at which being troubled, he outragiouſly beat him. That another Diviner told him he ſhould be King, if a blow of a Sword behind hindred it not. And another, that he ſhould dye by the hand of a *Bourgonian*; and it was found, that the Executioner who cut off his head, was a Native of *Bourgongne*.

He was very ignorant, but a great lover of predictions.

Divers others were reported: but to ſpeak the truth, the moſt of theſe Predictions are ordinarily

Part III. ordinarily known after the Events; and though they do effectually precede the Event, it must be believed by chance, and not by knowledge; the Prognosticators telling so many stories, that it is impossible but some should happen. "It is therefore a great wisdom to dis-
"abuse our spirits of these sorts of Curiosities:
"for besides that they have no foundation in
"Reason, we offend God by believing them,
"and give money to let our selves be fool'd and
"led by the Noses: nor do ever wise men give
"any faith to them, though sometimes they
"serve to deceive the simple.

A reflection very necessary for great men.

Laffin and *Renaze* had their full pardon. One named *Hebert*, Secretary to the Mareshal *Byron*, suffered the ordinary and * extraordinary Question, without confessing any thing; yet he was condemned to perpetual Imprisonment: but a little after, the King gave him his liberty; yet the resentment of what he had suffered, having more power over him then the favour, he fled into *Spain*, where he finished his days.

Laffin and *Renaze* pardoned.

* *That is, the Rack.*

The Baron of *Lux*, *Byrons* chief Confident, came to Court on the Kings word. He told him all that he knew, and possibly more: by which means he obtained his pardon in what form he pleased, and was confirmed in his Charges, and in the Government of the Castle of *Dijon*, and the City of *Beaune*. The King kept the Government of *Bourgongne* for Monsieur *le Dauphine*, and gave the Lieutenancy to *Bellegarde*, who afterwards was Governour in Chief.

So is the Baron of *Lux*; and confirmed in his Charges.

Mont-

Montbarot Lord *Breſton* was put into the *Baſtille* upon ſome ſuſpicions had of him; but being found innocent, the Gates were ſoon opened to him. Part III. *Montbarot* impriſoned, and ſoon releaſed.

The Baron of *Fontanelles*, a Gentleman of a very good Houſe, had not the ſame Fortune: for for having a hand in the Conſpiracy, and beſides that, treating of his own accord with the *Spaniards* to deliver to them a little Iſland on the Coaſt of *Britany*, he was broke on the Wheel in the *Greve*, by Sentence of the great Council. The King in conſideration of his Houſe, which was very illuſtrious, granted to his Kindred that in the Sentence he ſhould not be called by his proper Name: but Hiſtory could not be ſilent in it. *Fontanelles* broke on the Wheel.

The Duke of *Bouillon* finding himſelf likewiſe ſomewhat involved in *Byrons* buſineſs, judged it convenient to retire into his Viſcounty of *Turenne*; where the King, being adviſed that he yet plotted ſomething, ſent for him to come and juſtifie himſelf. Inſtead of coming, he writ to him a very eloquent Letter, by which he repreſented to him, That having underſtood that his Accuſers were both extremely wicked, and very cunning, he entreated him to diſpenſe with his coming to Court; and think fit, that to ſatisfie his Majeſty, all *France*, and his own Honour, his Proceſs ſhould be made at the Chamber of *Caſtres*, by vertue of the Priviledge he had granted to thoſe of the pretended Religion; and that he would ſend thither his Accuſers and Accuſations. Duke of *Bouillon* had a hand in the Conſpiracy. The King ſends for him to Court; but he preſents himſelf to the Chamber of *Caſtres*.

ons. In pursuance of which, he came to *Castres*, presented himself to the Chamber, and took an Act of his appearance. The King was not at all pleased with this Answer; blamed the Judges of *Castres* for having given him that Act, and sent to tell him that there was yet no question of leaving him over to Justice, and that therefore he should the rather come.

After, he retires to *Geneva*, & thence to *Heidelberg* to the Prince *Palatine* his Kinsman.

Being advertized by those friends he had at Court of the Kings resolution, who had sent to him the President *Commartin* to let him understand his will, he departed from *Castres*, went to *Orange*, passed by *Geneva*, and so retired to *Heidelberg* to the Prince *Palatine*: saying like a sage Politician, as he was, *That he ought neither to Capitulate with his King, nor yet to go near him whilst his anger lasted.* This business lay a breeding some years; we shall see in its place how it terminated.

The favor of *Rosny* a pretext to the discontents of the great ones

It must here be acknowledged, that the favour of *Rosny* served in this time for a pretext to almost all the discontents and all the Conspiracies of the great ones. The King had truly raised him by four or five great Charges, because he believed he could not sufficiently recompense those Services he had rendred him. And in that this Prince merits only praise: for a good Master cannot do too much for a good and faithful Servant. But though the troublesom and discontented Spirits might complain that the King gave him too many Charges and Imployments; yet they could not lament his giving him too much power, or that

Yet the King gave him not too much power;

he

he gave it to him alone; for we may with truth say, that *Rosny* had not the liberty to do the least grace of his own accord. He was forced in all things to address himself directly to the King; who would himself distribute his favours and recompences to those he knew worthy, that they might acknowledge the whole Obligation and Dependence from him. This great Prince knew well, "That he who gives "all, may do all; and that he who gives no- "thing, is nothing, but what it shall please "him who gives all. He had too much Honour, and too much Glory, to suffer that another should act in the most noble Function of his Royal Authority. Whatever favour or whatever familiarity any had with him, if they were wanting to conserve it with a profound respect, or should speak or act with him otherwise then with their Master and with their King, they would doubtless as soon fall into disgrace: and this was, as we have observed, one of the causes of *Byrons* loss. Judge then, if he who would not that any should in any thing in the World act the Companion with him, would have endured that they should act the Soveraign. Judge, if he would have been contented, that his Ministers should simply have taken his consent in a business, or that they should speak to him of things in manner of discharge, after having themselves resolved them. No, without doubt: He would that all Resolutions should come from his own Head, and from his own Motion: that the

Part III.

but keeps it to himself.

An important truth.

Part III. choice ſhould be his: that he alone ſhould have the power to raiſe and throw down; and that none but himſelf ſhould be Arbitrator in the Fortunes of his Subjects. Not but that he conſidered, as it was juſt, the Recommendations of the great ones of his Eſtate, and of his Miniſters, in the conferring of his Favours, Imployments, and Charges; but it was ſtill in ſuch a manner, that he made them to whom he gave them know, that they ought only to hold them from him: which the following Example well demonſtrates.

A memorable Example, that a King ought not to yield too much to his Miniſters.

The Biſhoprick of *Poictiers* becoming vacant, *Roſny* very inſtantly beſought him to conſider in this occaſion one named *Frenouillet*, reputed a knowing man, and a great Preacher. The King notwithſtanding this Recommendation, gives it to the Abbot of *Rochepozay*; who, beſides his own particular good Qualities, was Son to a Father, who had ſerved him well with his Sword in his Wars, and with his knowledge and ſpirit in Embaſſies. Some time after, the Biſhoprick of *Montpellier* became vacant: the King out of his own proper motion ſent to ſeek *Frenouillet*, and told him, that he would give it him; but on this condition, that he ſhould acknowledge no obligation but to himſelf. By which it may be ſeen, how he in ſome ſort conſidered the Recommendation of *Roſny*: but it may likewiſe be perceived, that the power of that Favourite, who cauſed ſo much jealouſie in the World, was bounded. I call him Favourite, by

by reaſon that he had the moſt ſplendent Imployments; though to ſpeak truth he had no pre-eminence over others of the Council: for *Villeroy* and *Janin* were more conſidered then he in Negotiations and Foreign Affairs; *Bellievre* and *Sillery* for Juſtice and Policy within the Kingdom: and it is not to be imagined that thoſe people did in any manner depend on him. There was only one head in the Eſtate, which was the King, who alone made all his Members, and from whom only they received ſpirits and vigour. Part III.

Enterpriſes of the Duke of *Savoy* on *Geneva*;

About the end of this year, the Duke of *Savoy* thinking to revenge himſelf, and repair the loſs of his County of *Breſſe* on the City of *Geneva*, attempted to take it by ſtorm. The Enterpriſe was formed by the Counſels of the Lord of *Albigny*; and the Duke having paſſed the Mountains, believed it infallible. *D'Albigny* conducted two thouſand men for this purpoſe within half a League of the City; yet was not ſo raſh as to engage himſelf, but left the Conduct to others. More then two hundred men mounted the Ladders, gained the Ramparts, and ran through all the City without being perceived. In the mean time, the Burgeſſes were awakened by the crys of ſome that fled from a Guard, which had diſcovered the Enterprizers, and as ſoon beheld themſelves charged by them. The Gunner, who was to have broken a Gate within, to cauſe thoſe without to enter, was unhappily ſlain: after which, they were weakned on all ſides.

Part III. The greateſt part endeavoured to re-gain their Ladders: but the Cannons on the Flankers having broken them in pieces, they were almoſt all ſlain, or broke their necks by leaping into the Ditch. There was thirteen taken alive, almoſt all Gentlemen: amongſt the others, *Attignac*, who had ſerved as ſecond to *Don Philippin* Baſtard of *Savoy*. They yielded upon aſſurance given them, that they ſhould be treated as Priſoners of War: But the furious crys of the Common-people, who repreſented the danger wherein their City was of Maſſacres, Violation, univerſal Deſtruction, or perpetual Slavery, forced the Council of this little Republick to condemn them to the infamous death of the Gibbet, like to Thieves. Their heads, with fifty four others of thoſe that were killed, were ſtuck on Poles, and their bodies caſt into the *Rhone*.

Thirteen of the Enterprizers hanged.

The Duke of *Savoy* excuſes himſelf to the *Suiſſes*

The Duke of *Savoy*, confuſed with ſuch ill ſucceſs, and much more with the reproaches of all *Chriſtendom*, for having endeavoured ſuch an Enterpriſe in time of abſolute Peace, repaſſed the Mountains in haſte, leaving his Troops near to *Geneva*, and endeavoured to excuſe himſelf to the *Suiſſes*, under whoſe protection that City was, as well as under that of *France*, for having attempted to ſurprize it; ſaying, That he had not done it to trouble the repoſe of the Confederacy, but to hinder *Liſdigueres* from ſeizing it for the King.

From whom the City of *Geneva* was held.

The Dukes of *Savoy* have for a long time pretended that this City appertained to their Soverain-

Soveraignty; and that the Biſhops who bore the Title of Earls, and were for ſome time Lords of it, held it from them: which is however a thing that the Biſhops never acknowledged; always maintaining, that they depended immediately on the Empire. The City on their part ſuſtained that it was a free City, and not ſubject in temporal things, neither to their Biſhops, whom they quite drave out in the year 1533. when they unhappily renounced the *Roman Catholick* Religion; nor to the Duke of *Savoy*, but only to the Empire: for which reaſon they always bore the Eagle planted on their Gates. Both one and the other have very ſpecious Titles to ſhew their Rights: but for the preſent the City of *Geneva* enjoyed full liberty, and had for above ſixty years, being become an Ally of the Cantons of *Switzerland*. Now the *Suiſſes* were comprehended in the Treaty of *Vervin* as Allies of *France*, and by conſequence ſo was the City of *Geneva*; and the King had ſufficiently declared it to the Duke of *Savoy*: notwithſtanding which, he ceaſed not to attempt this Enterpriſe; hoping that if it ſucceeded, the King of *Spain* and the Pope would ſuſtain him in it, and that the King for ſo ſmall a thing would not break the Peace.

It was an Allie of the *Suiſſes* and under protection of *France*.

The *Genevans* furiouſly incenſed againſt him, began to make War couragiouſly; entred his Country, and took ſome little Towns. They hoped that the King and the *Suiſſes* would ſecond theſe motions of their reſentment; and that all the Princes of *Germany*

The *Genevans* make War on *Savoy*.

Part III. would likewise come to their assistance. But the King desired to keep the Peace; and was too wise to kindle a War in which he could not make Religion and Policy agree; or unite the Honour and Interests of *France*, obliged to protect its Allies, with the good favour of the Pope moved by his duty to the ruine of the *Hugonots*. He therefore sent *de Vic* to assure them of his Protection: but with order to let them know, that Peace was necessary for them, and War ruinous; and that they ought to embrace the one, and shun the other. And they having little power for so much anger, and not being able to do any thing without his assistance, were constrained to consent, and enter into a Treaty with the *Savoyard*: by which it was said, that they were comprised in the Treaty of *Vervin*, and that the Duke could not build any Fortress within four Leagues of their City.

But the King obliges them to Peace.

The Inhabitants of *Mets* rise against *Sobole* their Governor.

It happened almost in the same time, that the City of *Mets* rose against the Governour of that Citadel. He was called *Sobole*, who having been made Lieutenant by the Duke of *Espernon*, to whom *Henry* the Third had given the Government in Chief, had deserted this Duke, I know not for what consideration, and had taken Provision of the King. He had a Brother who seconded him in the Charge of this Government.

During the last War against *Spain*, these two Brothers had accused the principal Inhabitants of *Mets*, for having conspired to deliver the

the City to the *Spaniards*. There were many imprisoned, some put to the Rack; but none found culpable: so that all the Burgesses believing with reason that this was a Calumny, conceived a hatred against these *Soboles*, and drew up several Petitions of Complaint against them, accusing them of a great number of Exactions and Cruelties. The Duke *d'Espernon*, who without doubt sustained these Burgesses at the Court, was sent by the King to accommodate this difference. The *Soboles* who had offended him, no longer trusted him; they would not permit him to enter into the strongest Citadel, nor let the Garrison go out to meet him: so that being justly incensed, he envenomed the plague instead of healing it, and animated the Inhabitants in such a manner, they Barricadoed themselves against them. The King who knew that the least sparkles were capable to kindle a great fire, was not content to send *La Varenne*, but went himself, being moreover willing to visit that Frontier. *Sobole* gave the place into his hands; and he gave it to *Arquien*, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment of Guards, with the Quality of Lieutenant of the King, to command in the absence of the Duke *d'Espernon* Governour, who had no great power so long as the King lived.

Part III.

The Duke *d'Espernon* kindles the fire more.

The King goes in person.

The King passed the Feast of *Easter* at *Mets*. Whilst he was there, he hearkened to the request which the *Jesuits* made for their re-establishment. He referred the doing them Justice till

The *Jesuits* present their Request to the King for their re-establishment.

Part III. till he ſhould come to *Paris*; and gave leave to Father *Ignatius Armand*, and Father *Coton*, to come to ſollicite their Cauſe. They were not wanting to do it; and Father *Coton*, being of a ſharp and witty diſcourſe, and a very famous Preacher, gained ſo ſoon the favour of all the Court, and pleaſed the King ſo well, that he obtained from his Majeſty the recalling of the Society into the Kingdom, contrary to the opinion and advice of ſome of his Council. He then re-eſtabliſhed them by an Act, which he cauſed to be confirmed in Parliament; and cauſed to be thrown down that *Pyramid*, which had been erected before the Palace, in the place of the houſe of *John Caſtel*, where there were many Writings in Verſe and Proſe very bloody againſt theſe Fathers. Thus was their Baniſhment glorioufly repaired; and after all, the King kept with him Father *Coton* as his Chaplain in Ordinary, and Confeſſor and Director of his Conſcience. This was not accompliſhed till the year 1604.

He re-eſtabliſheth them glorioufly.

1602, & 1603. In theſe two years of 1602, and 1603. we have yet three or four important things to obſerve. The firſt, that the King at his departure from *Mets* went to *Nancy* to viſit his Siſter, the Dutcheſs of *Bar*; who dyed the year following without Children. The ſecond, that he renewed the Alliance with the *Suiſſes*, and ſome months after with the *Griſons*; notwithſtanding thoſe Obſtacles by which the Count of *Fuentes* endeavoured to oppoſe

He viſits his Siſter at *Nancy*. Renews his Alliance with the *Suiſſes* & *Griſons*.

oppoſe it. The third was, that in returning to *Paris*, he received News of the Death of *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, one of the moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Heroick Princeſſes that ever Reigned; and who Governed her Eſtate with more Prudence and Power, than any of her Predeceſſors had ever done. Part III. Hears of the death of Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*.

She was Daughter to King *Henry* VIII. and to that *Anne* of *Bullen*, for whoſe love he had left *Katherine* of *Arragon*, Aunt to *Charles* the Fifth Emperour, his firſt Wife. There was nothing wanting to the happineſs of her Kingdom ſave the *Catholick* Religion, which ſhe baniſhed out of *England*. And we might give her the name of Good as well as Great, if ſhe had not dealt ſo inhumanely as ſhe did with her Couſin-German *Mary Stuart*, Queen of *Scotland*; whom ſhe kept eighteen years Priſoner, and after beheaded; induced to it by ſome Conſpiracies which the Servants and Friends of that poor Princeſs had made againſt her perſon. She beheaded *Mary* Queen of *Scots*.

The Son of that *Mary* named *James* the ſixth King of *Scotland*, being the neareſt of the Blood-Royal of *England*, as Grand-child to *Margaret* of *England*, Daughter to King *Henry* the Seventh, and Siſter to *Henry* the Eighth, married to *James* the Fourth King of *Scotland*, ſucceeded *Elizabeth*, who had put his Mother to death. He cauſed himſelf to be called King of *Great Britain*, to unite under the ſame Title the two Crowns of *England* and *Scotland*; which indeed are but one Iſland, formerly *James* 6. King of *Scotland*, and Son of *Mary*, ſucceeded to the Kingdom of *England*. *He was* James *the firſt of that Name among the Kings of* England.

Part III. formerly called by the Romans *Magna Britania*.

The Alliance of so powerful a King might make the ballance incline to which side soever it were turned, either of *France* or *Spain*: For which reason both the one and the other immediately sent Magnificent Ambassadours to salute him, each endeavouring to draw him to his side. It was *Rosny* who went on the part of *Henry* the Great: he obtained all the favourable Audience he desired, and the Confirmation of the ancient Treaties between *France* and *England*. The Ambassadour of *Spain* found not such facility in his Negotiation; the *English* appeared resolute. The *Spaniards* were forced to yield, that the place of the Treaty should be appointed in *England*, and to grant the *English* free Traffick in all their Territories, even in the *Indies*, and give them liberty of Conscience in *Spain*; so that they should not be subject to the Inquisition, nor obliged to salute the holy Sacrament in the streets, but only turn from it.

Ambassadours go from *France* & *Spain* to desire his friendship

Piety yields to Interest.

France was in a profound Peace, as well without by the renewing of the Alliances with the *Suisses* and with *England*, as within by the discovery of the Conspiracies which were quite dissipated; the King enjoyed a repose worthy his labours, and his past travel made his pleasure more sweet. However, he was not idle, but was seen daily imployed: for he endeavoured with as much diligence to conserve

The King labours to conserve Peace.

ſerve Peace, that divine Daughter of Heaven, as he had uſed Courage and Valour in making War. Part III.

He was often heard ſay, "That though "he could make the Houſe of *France* as pow- "erful in *Europe*, as that of the *Ottomans* was "in *Aſia*, and conquer in a moment all the "Eſtates of his Neighbours; yet he would "not do ſo great a diſhonour to his word, by "which he was obliged to the keeping of the "Peace. Excellent ſpeeches of a good King.

His moſt ordinary Divertiſements during this time, were Hunting and Building. He at the ſame time maintained workmen at the Church of the holy Croſs at *Orleans*, at St. *Germain* in *Laye*, at the *Louvre*, and at the Place Royal. His divertiſements.

The Nobility of *France* during this Peace, could not live out of action: ſome paſſed their time in Hunting, others with Ladies; ſome in Studies of Learning and the Mathematicks, others in travelling into Foreign Countries; and others continued the Exerciſe of War under Prince *Maurice* in *Holland*. But the greateſt part, whoſe hands as it were itched, and who ſought to ſignalize their Valour without departing from their Countries, became punctilious, and for the leaſt word, or for a wry look, put their hands to their Swords. Thus that madneſs of Duels entred into the hearts of the Gentlemen; and theſe Combats were ſo frequent, that the Nobility ſhed as much blood in the Meadows with their own Employs of the Nobility. Duels too frequent.

Part III. own hands, as their Enemies had made them loſe in Battels.

The King makes an Edict against this madneſs.

The King therefore made a ſecond and a moſt ſevere Edict, which prohibited Duels, confiſcating the bodies and goods of thoſe who went thus into the field. For the preſent, this Prohibition made the ardour of the moſt violent a little relent: but becauſe he often pardoned this Crime, not being able to refuſe it to thoſe who had faithfully ſerved him in his need; it happened that in a little time this miſchief regained its courſe, almoſt as ſtrong as before.

He makes Acts for working the Gold, Silver, and Copper-Mines.

His receiving from all perſons all advices that might accommodate and inrich his Kingdom, made him underſtand that there were in divers places of *France* very good Mines both of Gold and Silver, Copper and Lead; and that if they were wrought, there would be no need to buy of Strangers: That likewiſe though there ſhould accrue no great profit in digging them, yet by them many idle perſons might be imployed; and likewiſe thoſe Criminals who deſerved not death, might be condemned for ſo many years to work in them. He made therefore an Act which renewed the ancient Orders concerning the Officers, Directors, and Workers of Mines. And they began to work in the *Pyrenees*, where it is moſt certain, that formerly there hath been Gold, and that there ſtill is. In ſuch manner, that had they continued this labour, they might in all appearance have gained

ed notable advantages; but either through the negligence of the Overseers, or through the little intelligence, or rather impatience of the *French*, who cast by any thing that presently seconds not their desires, this work was discontinued. Part III.

Another very great conveniency for *Paris* was enterprized, which was the joyning of the River *Loire* to the *Seine*, by the Chanel of *Briare*. *Rosny* laboured in this with much expence, imploying in it near three hundred thousand Crowns: but the work was interrupted, I know not wherefore. It was renewed again in the Reign of *Lewis* XIII. and brought to perfection. An Enterprise to joyn the *Seine* and *Loire*.

There was proposed likewise another, which was to make a Conjunction of the two Seas, the Ocean and the *Mediterranean*, by uniting together the *Garonne* which runs into the Ocean, and the *Aude* which falls into the *Mediterranean* Sea below *Narbonne*, by Chanels which were to be drawn along little Rivers, which run between these great ones. The Country of *Languedoc* offered to contribute; but there were difficulties found which hindred this Enterprise. Another design to joyn the two Seas.

Navigation was established by the good Order which the King had taken to keep his Coasts in security, and to punish Pirates severely when they catcht them. Our Ships were not content to Traffick to the ordinary places, but enterprized likewise to go to the new World; which they had almost forgot since

Part III. since the time of Admiral *Coligny*. A Gentleman of *Xaintonge* named *du Gas*, began with the Kings Commission the Voyage of *Canada*, where afterwards was established the Commerce of Castors or Beavers, which are the Skins of a certain amphibious Creature, much like the Otters of this Country.

Navigation to *Canada*.

Among all these Establishments, we must not forget a great quantity of new Religious Companies, which were made in *Paris*. There was first seen the Recollects, which were a branch of the Order of St. *Francis* of a new Reformation: *Capucins* and *Feuillantines*; *Carmelites*, who were brought from *Spain*; Bare-footed *Carmes*, who came likewise from that Country: of the Brothers of Charity, vulgarly called the ignorant Brothers, who came out of *Italy*; and all had soon built them Convents out of the Alms and Charity of Devout persons.

Establishment of Religious Orders at *Paris*.

In the midst of this fair Calm, at which the King rejoyced, and during all these fair occupations which were worthy of him, he was not left without troubles and vexations, which perplexed his Spirit. He had none more piercing, nor more continual, then those which came on the part of his Wife and his Mistresses.

We have already said how *Madamoiselle d'Entragues* had engaged him. He had given her the Land of *Verneuil* near *Senlis*, and for the love of her had made it a Marquisate. After that he was married, he ceased not

The King gives *Verneuil* to *Madamoiselle d'Entragues*.

not to have the ſame paſſion for her, and to carry her with him in his Progreſſes, and lodge her at *Fountainbleau.* Part III.

Theſe ſcandalous diſorders extremely offended the Queen; and the Pride of the Marchioneſs more furiouſly incenſed her: for ſhe ſpoke always of her in terms either injurious or diſdainful; ſometimes not forbearing to ſay, that if ſhe had Juſtice ſhe ſhould hold the place of that fat * Banker.

She deſpiſes and offends the Queen.

* *Alluding I ſuppoſe to the Dukes of* Florence, *who are all Merchants*

The Queen likewiſe on her ſide was with reaſon tranſported againſt her, and made her complaints to all the World. But this was not the way to gain the ſpirit of the King: ſhe had done better, had ſhe wiſely diſſembled her diſpleaſure, and by her kindneſſes made her ſelf Maſter of that heart, which of right belonged to her. The King loved to be flattered; he loved ſweet and compliant diſcourſe, and was to be gained by tenderneſs and affection. The band of love is love it ſelf: this was that ſhe ought to imploy with him, and not grumblings, diſdains, and ill countenances, which ſerve only more and more to diſguſt a Husband, and make him find more pleaſure in the allurements of a Miſtreſs, who takes care to be always agreeable and always complacent. But inſtead of holding this way, ſhe was always in contention with the King; ſhe exaſperated him continually by her complaints, and by her reproaches: and when he thought to find with her ſome ſweetneſs to eaſe the great labours of his ſpirit, he

The Queen on her part troubleſom to the King.

Part III. encountred nothing but Gall and Bitterneſs.

She had belonging to her Chamber a *Florentine* Woman, Daughter of her Nurſe, named *Leonora Galigay*, a Creature extreme ugly, but very ſpiritual, and who knew ſo perfectly how to inſinuate into her heart, that ſhe had in ſuch manner ſeized on it, that ſhe abſolutely commanded her. It hath been ſaid, that this Woman fearing the Queen her Miſtreſs would love her leſs, if ſhe perfectly loved the King her Husband, kept her from it as much as ſhe could, that ſhe might poſſeſs her with more eaſe. Afterwards, to the end ſhe might have a Second in her deſigns, ſhe Married and Eſpouſed her ſelf to a *Florentine*, a Domeſtick of the Queens, named *Conchini*, of a little better Extraction then her ſelf, being Grand-child to *Baptiſta Conchini*, who had been Secretary to *Coſmo* Duke of *Florence*.

Leonora & *Conchini* her Husband, foſter the Queen in ill humors

The Common opinion was, that theſe two perſons conjoyntly laboured ſo long as the King lived, to conſerve a ſpleen in the ſpirit of the Queen, and to make her always troubleſom and humourſom towards him; in ſuch manner, that for ſeven or eight years together, if he had one day of peace and quiet with her, he had ten of diſcontent and vexation. In this truly the Kings fault was the greateſt, becauſe he gave the occaſion of theſe troubles: and the Husband being, as St. *Paul* ſaith, the head of the Wife, ought to give her example, and keep a more ſtrict union with her.

We

We have obſerved this once for all. But we cannot too often make this Reflexion, "That ſin is the cauſe of all diſorder; and that "for a little pleaſure it cauſes a thouſand "troubles and a thouſand miſchiefs, even in "this World it ſelf. The King being now but juſt fifty years of age, began this year to have ſome ſmall feelings of the Gout; which poſſibly were the doleful effects of his exceſſive voluptuouſneſs, as well as of his labours. Part III. 1604. The Kings debaucheries cauſe the Gout.

To return to the Marchioneſs; it happened one day that the Queen being very much offended at her diſcourſe, threatned her that ſhe ſhould know how to bridle her wicked tongue. The Marchioneſs upon this ſeemed ſad and grieved, ſhunned the King, and let him underſtand, that ſhe deſired that he would no more demand any thing of her, becauſe ſhe feared that the continuation of his favours would be too prejudicial both to her and her Children. Her deſign was to inflame more his paſſion, by ſhewing her ſelf more difficult. But when ſhe ſaw that her cunning had not all the effect ſhe hoped, and that the Queens anger was increaſed to ſuch a point, that indeed there was ſome danger for her and hers; ſhe adviſed her ſelf of another thing. *D'Entragues* her Father demanded permiſſion of the King to carry her out of the Kingdom, to avoid the Vengeance of the Queen. The King granted her demand eaſier then ſhe thought he would; wherewith being

The Queen threatens the Marchioneſs.

Who prays the King to ſee her no more.

And her Father demands leave to retire with her out of *France*,

Part III. ing exceſſively enraged, her Father and the Count *d'Auvergne* her Brother by the Mothers ſide, began to Treat ſecretly with the Ambaſſadour of *Spain*, to have ſome retreat in the Territories of his King, caſting themſelves abſolutely they and their Children into his Arms.

They treat with the Ambaſſadour of *Spain*.

The Ambaſſador believed that this buſineſs would be very advantagious to his Maſter, and that in time and place he might ſerve himſelf of that promiſe of Marriage, which the King had given to the Marchioneſs: he therefore eaſily granted them all that they demanded, and added all the fair promiſes, with which weak a nd feeble Spirits might be entoxicated.

The King had granted them permiſſion to retire themſelves out of *France*, but yet without the Children, out of a belief he had that they would go into *England* to the Duke of *Lenox* and the Earl of *Aubigny* of the Houſe of the *Stuarts*, who were their near Kinſmen; but when he underſtood that they conſulted of a retreat into *Spain*, he reſolved to hinder them, but to imploy fair means to do it. He ſends therefore for the Count *d'Auvergne*, who was then at *Clermont*, ſo much beloved in the Province, that he believed he might ſecurely ſtay there. He refuſed to come before he had his Pardon Sealed in good form, for all that he might have done. This was a kind of new Crime, to capitulate with his King: however he ſends it him, but with this Clauſe,

The King reſolves to hinder them. To this end he ſends for *Auvergne*, who is at *Clermont*, and refuſes to come.

That

That he ſhould make his immediate appear- Part III.
ance.

His diſtruſt permitted him not to obey on this condition: he ſtayed ſtill in the Province, where he kept himſelf on his Guard, with all precautions imaginable. Nevertheleſs he was not ſo cunning, but the King could entrap him, and by an Artifice very groſs. He being Colonel of the *French* Cavalry, was deſired to go ſee a Muſter made of a Company of the Duke of *Vendoſmes*. He went well mounted, keeping himſelf at a good diſtance, that he might not be encompaſſed: Nevertheleſs, *d'Eurre* Lieutenant of that Company, and *Nereſtan* approaching him to ſalute him, mounted on little Hobbies for fear of giving him ſuſpicion, but with three Souldiers diſguiſed like Lacqueys, caſt him from his Horſe, and made him Priſoner. They led him preſently to the *Baſtille*, where he was ſeized with a great fear, when he ſaw himſelf lodged in the ſame Chamber where the Mareſhal of *Byron* his great Friend had been.

He is Arreſted Priſoner, and carried to the *Baſtille*.

Immediately after the King cauſed *d'Entragues* to be Arreſted, who was carried to the * *Conciergerie*; and the Marchioneſs, who was left in her Lodgings under the Guard of the Cavalier *de Guet*. After deſiring to make known by publick proofs the ill intention of the *Spaniards*, who ſeduced his Subjects, and excited and fomented Conſpiracies in his Eſtate, he remitted the Priſoners into the hands of the Parliament; who having convicted

D'Entragues and the Marchioneſs likewiſe Arreſted.

* *The common Gaol of* Paris.

Part III. them of having complotted with the *Spaniard*, declared by a Sentence of the first of *February*, the Count of *Auvergne*, *d'Entragues*, and an *English* man named *Morgan*, who had been the Agent of this fair Negotiation, guilty of Treason; and as such, condemned them to have their heads cut off: The Marchioness to be conducted with a good Guard into the Abby of Nuns at *Beaumont* near to *Tours*, to be there shut up; and that in the mean time there should be more ample information made against her, at the request of the Attorney-General.

Sentence of Parliament against them.

The Queen spared no sollicitations for the giving of this Sentence; believing that the Execution would satisfie her resentment: but the goodness of the King surpassed her passion. The love which he had for the Marchioness was not so far extinct, that he could resolve to sacrifice what he had adored: he would not permit them to pronounce the Sentence; and two months and a half afterward, to wit, on the fifteenth of *April*, he by Letters under his Great Seal changed the penalty of Death on the Count of *Auvergne* and the Lord *d'Entragues*, into perpetual Imprisonment. Some time after he had likewise changed the Prison of *Entragues* into a Confinement to his House of *Malles-herbes* in *Beausse*. He likewise permitted the Marchioness to retire to *Verneuil*; and seven months being passed, without the Attorney-Generals procuring any proof against her, he caused her to be declared absolutely

The King pardons them, and justifies the Marchioness.

absolutely innocent of the crime whereof she was accused. Part III.

There rested only the Count of *Auvergne*, who being the most to be feared, was the worst treated: for the King not only kept him Prisoner at the *Bastille*, where he lay for twelve whole years, but likewise deprived him of his propriety in the County of *Auvergne*. He had bore the Title, and enjoyed it by vertue of the Donation of King *Henry* the Third.

But the Count of *Auvergne* remained at the *Bastille*, and is despoiled of his County.

Queen *Margaret* newly come to the Court, sustained that this Donation could not be valuable, because the Contract of the Marriage of *Katherine de Medicis* her Mother, to whom that County appertained, allowing Substitution of her Goods, and that Substitution, said she, extending to Daughters in default of Males, that County was to come to her after the death of *Henry* the Third, nor could he give it to her prejudice.

The Parliament having hearkned to her reasons, and seen her proofs, annulled the Donation made by *Henry* the Third, and adjudged her this County. In recompence of which obligation, and many others she had received from the King, she made a Donation of all her Estates after death to the *Daulphin*, reserving to her self only the fruits of them during life.

Which is adjudged to Queen *Margaret*, who gives her Estates to the *Daulphin*.

The Count of *Auvergne* thus despoiled, remained in the *Bastille* until the year One thousand six hundred and sixteen; when

Part III. Queen *Mary de Medicis* having need of him during the Troubles, delivered him from thence, and caused him to be justified. She caused likewise the Registers of Parliament and of the Notaries to be taken off the File, with all Informations which might conserve the memory of his Crime. "By this see an Example "how time causes a mutability in all things, "and how it changeth the greatest hatreds into "the greatest affections; and on the contrary, "transmutes the strongest affections into mor-"tal hatreds.

The Designs of the Duke of *Bouillon* discovered.

By searching into the Plot of the Marchioness her Father, to deliver her with her Children to the *Spaniards*, the designs of the Duke of *Bouillon* were likewise discovered, who at present was the only person could give the King any trouble in his own Kingdom. It is most certain, that this Prince had conferred on him very considerable Favours, having given him the Staff of Mareshal of *France*, and procured him the Marriage of the Heiress of *Sedan*: and this Lord had likewise very well served him in his greatest necessities. But after he saw him converted to the Catholick Faith, he diminished much of his affection, and moved partly by Zeal for his false Religion, and partly by Ambition, he conceived vast designs of making himself Chief and Protector of the *Hugonot* Party; and under that pretext, make himself Master of the Provinces beneath the *Loire*. It was believed that for this effect he had much assisted to exasperate the spirit of the

The King had done him many favours, and he had as well served the King.

the Mareſhal of *Byron*; and that he had made a Treaty with the *Spaniard*, who was to furniſh him with what money he deſired, but not with Forces, for fear of rendring himſelf odious to the Proteſtants. Part III.

It was but too viſible, that after the Converſion of the King, he had inſtantly laboured to beget diſtruſts and diſcontents in the ſpirits of the *Hugonots*, and to unite and Rally them together, that they might make a Body: perſwading himſelf, that that Body muſt neceſſarily have a Head, and that they could chuſe no other but himſelf. And for theſe Reaſons, ſo many Aſſemblies were made, and ſo many particular and general Synods of thoſe of this Religion held; wherein nothing was heard but complaints and murmurs againſt the King, whom they continually wearied with new Requeſts and Demands.

But after the Kings Converſion, he excites the *Hugonots* againſt him, and would make himſelf Chief of their Party.

Moreover, it was found that this Duke had Emiſſaries and Servants in *Guyenne*, and particularly in *Limoſin* and *Quercy*, who held private Councils among the Nobility, diſtributed money, and took Oath of thoſe who promiſed him ſervice, and had formed deſigns againſt ten or twelve Catholick Cities.

His Emiſſaries endeavour to form a Party in *Guyenne*.

The King judging that he ought to dig up the root of this miſchief before it extended farther, and not knowing indeed to what it might extend, reſolved himſelf to go and remedy it. He departed from *Fountainbleau* in the month of *December*, having ſent before *Jean-Jacques de Meſmes*, Lord of *Roſſy*, to make

The King goes to prevent them.

Part III. make Proceſs againſt thoſe that were culpable.

All the Conſpiracy diſſipated.

Immediately all this Conſpiracy flew into ſmoak: The beſt adviſed came to the King to caſt themſelves at his feet. The chief Agent of the Duke of *Bouillon* being advertized that there was order given to arreſt him, brought his head to the King, and told him both all he knew before, and all that he did not know. The others either fled out of the Kingdom, or elſe hid themſelves. Five or ſix unfortunate perſons being taken, were beheaded at *Limoges*, and their heads planted on the tops of the Gates, their bodies burnt, and the aſhes thrown into the Air. Three or four others ſuffered the ſame puniſhment at *Perigord*. There were ten or twelve condemned for Contumacy, and their Effigies hanged up; amongſt others, *Chappelle-Byron*, and *Giverſac* of the Houſe of *Cugnac*. But in all theſe procedures, there were found no proofs by writing, nor yet by any formal Depoſition againſt the Duke of *Bouillon*; ſo cautiouſly and ſubtilly had he carried his buſineſs.

The King returns to *Paris*.

Before theſe Executions, the King having made his Entrance into *Limoges*, returned to *Paris*. He paſſionately wiſhed, that after this

He in vain endeavors to make the Duke of *Bouillon* humble himſelf.

the Duke of *Bouillon* would acknowledge and humble himſelf. For if he remained impenitent, he was obliged to proſecute him to the utmoſt; and if he did proſecute him, he offended all that great body of Proteſtants, which were his faithful Allies. He imployed there-

therefore under-hand all means which he could deviſe, to induce him to have recourſe to his Clemency, rather then to the interceſſion of Strangers; which a Soveraign could not agree to in the caſe his Officer and Subject. The Duke deſired as much as he to draw himſelf out of this trouble: but he believed he could not find ſecurity at Court, becauſe *Roſny*, who was not his friend, and who had conceived ſome jealouſie to ſee him more authorized then himſelf in the *Hugonot* Party, had ſo great Credit with the King. So that after many Treaties and Negotiations, the King reſolved to go ſeek him at *Sedan* with an Army. Part III.

He reſolves to beſiege *Sedan*.

Roſny laboured with great Zeal to make Preparation for this Expedition. The King confided much in him; and by honouring him, deſired to teſtifie to the *Hugonots*, that if he aſſaulted the Duke of *Bouillon*, it was not againſt their Religion, but the Rebellion he made War. For this purpoſe he erected the Land of *Sully* into a Dutchy and Peerage; wherefore we ſhall henceforward call him Duke of *Sully*. His thoughts were, that the King ſhould purſue the Duke of *Bouillon* to the utmoſt. *Villeroy* and the reſt of the Council were of a contrary Judgment: they would not have the Siege of *Sedan* hazarded, becauſe the length of that Enterpriſe might poſſibly revive divers Factions in the other Corners of the Kingdom, give time to the *Spaniard* to aſſault the Frontiers of *Picardy*, to the diſcontented

Roſny makes all neceſſary preparations.

The King makes him Duke of *Sully*.

Inconveniences in the Siege of *Sedan*.

Part III. tented *Savoyard* to cast himself with the Forces of the *Malanois* on disarmed *Provence*, and to the *Hugonots* and Protestants of *Germany* to come to the assistance of their friends.

The King chuses rather to receive the Duke into favour. On what Conditions.

The King well foresaw all these inconveniences; and therefore having advanced to *Donchery*, during the absence of *Sully*, who was gone to provide Artillery, he treated with the Duke of *Bouillon*, and received him into grace; on condition that he humbled himself before his Majesty, and received him into the City of *Sedan*, and delivered up the Castle to him, to keep it with what Garrison he should think fit for four years.

These were the publick Conditions: but by the secret Articles the King promised the Duke to stay but five days in *Sedan*, nor to put but fifty men in the Castle, which should immediately depart upon humble supplication made by the Duke. All these things were faithfully executed, and without the least distrust either on the one side or the other. The Duke demands pardon of the King, who enters *Sedan*, and thence goes to *Paris*.

Duke came to meet the King at *Donchery*, where he besought his pardon. The King received him as if he had never been faulty; and five or six days after, entred into *Sedan*; where he stayed only three days, and then returned to *Paris*. The Duke accompanied him as far as *Mouson*, passing then no further: but some days after, when he understood that the Parliament had confirmed his pardon, in which were likewise comprehended his friends that had been condemned for the default of *Limoges*,

ges, he came to Court, where he received more Honours and Kindneſſes then ever. This was the cuſtom of that great King: "He had "a heart like a Lyon againſt the Proud, and "againſt Rebels; but he was pleaſed to relieve "with an unparall'd goodneſs thoſe he had "overcome, when by their ſubmiſſions they "rendred themſelves worthy to receive his "grace. And the Duke of *Bouillon*, who perfectly knew his Nature, (for they had lived and made War a long time together) was not wanting in this Conjuncture to comport himſelf with all that Prudence and Compliancy which an underſtanding man, as he was, could be capable of. Part III. *A great Example of Generoſity in our Prince.*

Notwithſtanding this great Generoſity and Goodneſs of the King, his Kingdom was no leſs turmoiled with incredible Infidelities and Conſpiracies: ſuch were the Treaſon of *l'Oſte*, the Attempt on the City of *Marſeilles* by *Merargues*, and another on *Narbonne* and *Leucate* by the *Luquiſſes*. *Notwithſtanding which, there are many Conſpiracies.*

L'Oſte was Clerk to *Villeroy*, and his God-Son, the imployment he had under him, was to copy out the Diſpatches. This unfortunate man revealed all the Secrets of the Kings Affairs to ſome of the Council of *Spain*; who had corrupted him with twelve hundred Crowns of Penſion, which they promiſed him whilſt he was in that Country with the Ambaſſadour *Rochepot*. His Treachery being diſcovered, he fled; and as he was purſued by the Provoſts of the Mareſhal, he drowned himſelf in the River *Treaſon of l'Oſte.*

Part III.

ver of *Marne*, near the Ferry of *Fay*. It may eaſily be judged, that *Villeroy*, whoſe fidelity by this means remained expoſed to the Kings juſt ſuſpicions, and to the calumnies of his Enemies, was ſenſibly troubled. He had had without doubt ſome difficulty to clear himſelf of this buſineſs, if the King, who ſaw him in an extraordinary affliction, had not had the goodneſs to go viſit him himſelf; and by that honour brought him the comfort of juſtifying him againſt all calumnies the Envious might ſow againſt him.

1605. Treaſon of *Merargues.*

Merargues was a Provincial Gentleman, of a very good Houſe; who having aſſurance that he ſhould the following year be *Viguier* or Sheriff of *Marſeilles*, had promiſed to deliver that City to the *Spaniard* during his Sheriffalty. He was ſo imprudent and ſo fooliſh as to diſcover his deſign to a Slave of the Gallies of *Marſeilles*; who gave advice of it to the Court, to the end poſſibly that he might gain his liberty.

He is ſurprized talking with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadours Secretary.

Upon this advice, *Merargues*, who was then at *Paris*, was watched ſo diligently, that they found him conferring with the Secretary of the Ambaſſadour of *Spain*; and ſpeaking ſo loud, that almoſt all they ſaid was heard. They ſearched him, and found in the fold of his Garter a Note containing the model of his Enterpriſe. He was arreſted, and had his head cut off by Sentence of the Parliament of *Paris*, on the nineteenth day of *December*. His body was quartered, and his Quarters fixed before

His puniſhment.

the

the City-gates: his Head carried to *Marſeilles*, to be planted on a Pole on a Tower of one of the principal Gates. The Secretary of the Ambaſſadour was arreſted as well as he; and had been in great danger, if the King had been as furious as thoſe counſelled him, who deſired a Rupture with *Spain*. Part III. The Ambaſſadours Secretary arreſted.

This Rencounter gave ſubject to the Politicians to diſcourſe diverſly concerning the Rights of Ambaſſadours and their people: but *Henry* the Great decided himſelf the Queſtion in this manner: "The Ambaſſadours (ſaid "he) are ſacred by the Right of Nations: "now they firſt break them, when they con- "trive any Treaſon againſt the State, or againſt "the Prince to whom their Maſter ſent them; "and therefore by conſequence this Right "ought not ſecure them from being ſought "out and puniſhed. Moreover, it is not to be "preſumed that they are either Ambaſſadours, "or that they repreſent the Soveraign who "ſends them, when they commit thoſe trea- "cheries and infidelities which their Maſters "would neither act nor avow. However, there "is more generoſity in not uſing in this point "the utmoſt rigour, but reſerving the ad- "vantage to chaſtiſe them without doing it. "And to this purpoſe, being well read in Hi- "ſtory, he alledged that Example of the "Roman Senate, who having diſcovered that "the Ambaſſadours of the *Allobroges* were con- "cerned in the Conſpiracy of *Catiline*, con- "tented themſelves with commanding them "to Several diſcourſes concerning Ambaſſadours Privi- ledges.

Part III. "to depart the City. This was his Opinion: and as he always followed the most generous Maximes, he forbad that any Process should be made against the Secretary, to whom the Judges were about to give the Question.

The King forbids any process against the Secretary.

In the mean time, the Ambassadour thinking to cloak this Perfidy by his Exclamations, came to complain to him that the Rights of Nations were violated, and in them the Dignity of Ambassadours; and that the King his Master would have that resentment of it, which became a great Prince when offended. The King answering him with a wise coldness, represented unto him what his Secretary had acted with *Mirargues*. The Ambassadour not willing either to owne the Man, or approve his Action, turned the business another way, and complained that the King had made the first breach of the Peace of *Vervin*, by assisting the *Hollanders* both with men and money. The King replied, that for the men, they went not by his Orders; and that there were *French* men in the Service of the Arch-Duke, as well as in the *Hollanders*: but for his money, that it was in his power to do with it what he pleased, and to lend it or give it without offending any. The Ambassadour was very hot, and there past some high words both on one part and the other. In fine, the King returned him his Secretary, as he had resolved to do before he spake.

The Ambassadour makes a great noise, and threatens his Kings resentment.

Treason of the *Luquisses*.

As for the *Luquisses*, they were two Brothers *Genoways* by Extraction, who had made agreement

agreement with the Governour of *Perpignan* to deliver to him *Narbonne* and *Lucate*. It is certain, that it was not in their power to execute this design; and that there was more ill will in them, then danger that the thing should succeed.: Nevertheless they were taken, and carried to *Tholouse*, where the Parliament sent both the one and the other to the Gibbet. Part III.

It seemed that not only the malice of men, but even folly it self conspired now against *France*: for the same day that *Merargues* was executed, an unhappy Fool made an Attempt on the Sacred person of the King; throwing himself upon him with a Dagger in his hand, as he passed on Horse-back over the *Pont-Neuf*, returning from hunting. The Foot-men of the King running in, made him lose his aim; and had killed him on the place, if the King had not forbad it, who caused him to be carried Prisoner to *For-l'Evesque*. He was called *John de l'Isle*, Native of *Vineaux* near *Senlis*. He was presently examined by the President *Janin*, who could get no reasonable answer from him: for he was indeed quite out of his senses. He believed himself King of all the World, and said that *Henry* the Fourth having usurped and taken *France* from him, he would chastise him for his temerity. Upon which, the King judging that he was sufficiently punished by his folly, commanded that he should only be kept in Prison; where he died not long after.

A Fool makes an attempt on the Kings person.

Part III.

Those who desire War, whet the Kings Spirit upon these conspiracies.

Those who desired War, lost not the occasion to incense the Kings spirit upon all these Conspiracies and Enterprises of the *Spaniards*. They remonstrated to him, That he ought not to expect other from his perpetual Enemies; That having used all their endeavours to hinder him from coming to his Crown, they continued daily to attempt something against his Repose and Life: That their Ambushes were more to be feared in Peace, then in War: That it were better to break with them, because they would have less means to hurt him, being no longer in the Entrails of his Estate: That he had more advantage to act against them by open force, then to counterplot all their treacherous devices, which they held under the Cloak of Peace and Friendship. They moreover presented to him the ill estate of the Affairs of *Spain*; that having expended all their Treasure in the Low-Country-Wars, they were fain to have recourse to extraordinary ways to recover it. But above all, they forgot not to lay before him the great and advantagious Qualities that he had above *Philip* III. his Adversary, that he might be the easier induced to assault a man whom they taught him to despise and esteem feeble.

Character of *Philip* the Third of *Spain*.

I may say to this purpose of this King, that though he had his Spirit very clear, and that the diligences of *Philip* the Second his Father had given him all knowledge necessary to govern; nevertheless out of a certain timidity and distrust of himself, too ordinary in many great

great men, ſhunning labour and pains, he had abſolutely diſcharged himſelf of the Government on the Marqueſs of *Denia*, whom he made ſoon after Duke of *Lerma*. It will be difficult to expreſs how this man rendred himſelf odious, and how the other was little eſteemed ſo long as he endured: but in fine, God of his grace opened the eyes of this young Prince: he broke his chains; and he who was become as it were his Maſter, believed himſelf no better able to divert all thoſe diſgraces which might happen, then by becoming a Church-man and a Cardinal. Part III.

A good and profitable Reflection.

We may in paſſing make ſome reflection of the pitiful eſtate to which a Soveraign reduces himſelf, who for not comporting himſelf as he ought, neceſſarily falls into the diſdain and averſion of his Subjects. "Without doubt "the greateſt misfortune can arrive him, is to "be regarded as inferiour and ſubject to ano- "ther; to have his Ears continually filled "with that voice of his people, crying on all "ſides, *Govern us*; and to permit himſelf to "be guided rather by five or ſix wicked Flat- "terers, who make him believe that he is Ma- "ſter, though he exerciſes no one Function, "then by the truth or judgment of his whole "Kingdom. For if he deſire to know whe- "ther he be truly Soveraign or no, he need "only regard himſelf without flattery, If it "be he that gives Charges of his proper mo- "tion; if it be that he chuſes the perſons, if "the Officers about him are of his own ma-

Part III. "king; if he have ever said, *I will have it so*,
"in any affair of importance; if he see him-
"self always followed and accompanied by
"Grandees; if those who have business, who
"seek imployments, and who have need of his
"favour, are in his Anti-chamber: in fine,
"that none in his Realm hath more respect and
"more assiduity; and then he shall clearly know
"who it is that reigns. But it is not enough
"for him to know who it is; he must, after
"the example of *Philip* III. of whom we
"were now speaking, endeavour to put him-
"self in possession of his Authority. It is in
"that the Courage of a Prince principally con-
"sists: for in what can he better make known
"his Resolution and Valour, then in taking
"upon him that degree and power which
"God hath given him? Is there a truer point
"of Honour for a King, then in maintaining in
"his person the Rights of his Royalty? With-
"out dissembling, it is more weakness and
"shame for a Soveraign to submit himself to
"him who ought to be submitted to his will,
"then to flee in the day of Battel before his
"Enemies: for the bravest are sometimes put
"to the worst; and the Courage of a King
"consists much less in fighting with his hands,
"then governing with his head. What would
"it be for him to overcome his Enemies, if he
"sees himself beneath his own Subject, who
"under pretext to serve him, reduces him
"and his Estate into Fetters; and who dares
"invest himself with all the glory and all the
"advan-

In what the Courage of a Soveraign principally consists

"advantage of Command, making him believe Part III.
"that it is to eaſe him of the burthen?

Our *Henry* was not of this temper: his goodneſs was extreme, but it was neither weak nor timid: his knowledge and underſtanding were not uſeleſs, but always labourious and active: nothing was above him, but God himſelf; nothing on any ſide of him, but Juſtice and Clemency, his two faithful Counſellours. The moſt hardy of his Miniſters trembled when he but bent his brow: all familiarities immediately ceaſed, and none durſt be other then ſilent, when he was pleaſed to take the tone of Maſter. The goodneſs of *Henry* the Great.

Now this great King conſerving ſtill the Splendour of his Majeſty, we cannot wonder if he were eſteemed above *Philip* the Third; who for the preſent ſuffered himſelf to be abſolutely governed. And therefore becauſe they knew he underſtood his fault, they beſieved that he would be more eaſily perſwaded to make War againſt him. Indeed he was ſufficiently reſolute; and after ſo many injuries as he had received from the *Spaniard*, his reſentment had no great need of a Spur. However, before he would engage himſelf in ſo great an Enterpriſe, he would manage all his Affairs ſo exactly, gather together ſo much Money, Artillery and Ammunitions, fortifie ſo well his Frontiers, take ſuch good order within his Kingdom, aſſure himſelf of ſo many Friends and Allies, raiſe ſuch powerful Armies; and in fine, make his Party ſo ſtrong, that the ſucBut the King haſtens not the War.

Part III. ceſs ſhould not at all be doubtful; and that aſſaulting that ambitious power, he might be aſſured to overthrow it: and therefore he judged it not to the purpoſe too much to haſten.

In the mean time, he neglected not other means to acquire reputation; not thinking it leſs glorious to blazon forth his name by the repute of his wiſdom in Counſels, then by the power of his Arms. By the laſt, he had been victorious over the Rebels and the *Spaniards*, by the other, he rendred himſelf Arbitrator of the great differences of *Chriſtendom*, and acquired a Superiority ſo much more noble, becauſe given him without conſtraint.

He makes himſelf Arbitrator of the differences of *Chriſtendom.*

1606. After the death of *Clement* 8. he cauſes to be choſen *Leo* 11. who ſoon dyes, and *Paul* V. ſucceeds.

Pope *Clement* VIII. being dead about the end of the year 1605. he would imploy his Credit to make a Pope of his Friends. The Cardinal of *Joyeuſe* his Ambaſſadour, and his other Agents, laboured ſo well, that they made the Votes fall on *Alexander de Medicis*, who was named the Cardinal of *Florence*. He took the Name of *Leo* XI. but he died at the end of ſixteen days: ſo the buſineſs was to begin again. The King would not that they ſhould take pains in the choice of another; and declared, That *France* took no other intereſt then that an honeſt man ſhould be choſen. The *Conclave* in the end choſe the Cardinal *Bourgheſe*, who was named *Paul* V.

A great difference between *Paul* V. and the *Venetians.*

In the firſt years of his Papacy, there was re-kindled a great difference which was begun under his Predeceſſours, which had ſet on fire all

all the Corners of *Italy*, and possibly all *Christendom*, if our *Henry* had not taken care to extinguish it. I am about to tell the subject of it.

The *Venetians* had made a Law to bound the Acquisitions of the Clergy.

The *Signory* of *Venice* had formerly made an Ordinance or Decree, which prohibited the Monks from purchasing Lands in their Dominions above the value of twenty thousand Duckats; and enjoyning every one that had purchased above that value, to remit it to the *Seignory*, who would re-imburse them the purchase and the improvements they had made on it. And following the foot-steps of this ancient Decree, they made another, which forbad the founding or building of new Churches, Convents, and Monasteries, without express permission of the *Seignory*, upon pain of Banishment, and Confiscation of such Foundations and Buildings.

It was indeed part of the Function and Charge of Bishops to hinder this multiplication of Convents; but either through negligence, or too much facility, they gave to all as much permission as they demanded: insomuch that the Common-wealth seeing the default of the Prelates, found themselves constrained to take notice of it: otherwise it would soon have happened that all their Cities would have been nothing else but Convents and Churches; and all their Revenues, which ought to bear the charge of their Estate, and serve for the nourishment of married people, who furnish it with Souldiers, Merchants, and Labourers,

Part III. would have been expended only in the maintenance of Nuns and Fryars.

They make other Decrees.

The Senate therefore made another Decree, which prohibited Eccleſiaſticks from purchaſing any immoveable Goods, except by the permiſſion of the Senate. And at the ſame time it happened that an Abbot and a Canon, accuſed of very horrid Crimes committed in the Territories of the *Signory*, were impriſoned by the Authority of the Secular Juſtice; which paſſed for a ſtrange Attempt on the other ſide the Mountains, where the Eccleſiaſticks are not at all ſubject to Secular Juſtice.

Paul V. offended at theſe Decrees.

Now *Paul V.* coming to the Pontificial Chair, not able to paſs by, ſaid he, all theſe Attempts of the Secular Eſtate on the Eccleſiaſticks, diſpatched at the ſame time two Briefs to his *Nuntio* of *Venice*: One containing the revocation of the Decrees made by the *Signory* touching the purchaſing of temporal Eſtates; and the other commanding the ſending back the Abbot and the Canon to the Court of the Church. The *Nuntio* ſignified theſe Briefs to the *Signory*; who anſwered boldly, That their Authority was born with them; That no perſon but they had to do with it; and, That they ſhould know how to maintain it againſt any would enterpriſe to oppoſe it. Both the one and the other imployed the beſt Pens of the times to defend their Rights, and confute the Defences of their Adverſaries. There were ſpread abroad every where great quantities of

He ſends Briefs to revoke them.

Mani-

Manifeſto's and Treaties, full of reaſons of Rights, paſſages of holy Scripture, Authorities of Fathers and Councils, and Examples drawn from Hiſtory. Part III.

In the mean time the Pope extremely offended at this anſwer, thunders out an Excommunication againſt the Duke and the Senate, if within four and twenty days they revoked not their Decrees, and configned the Priſoners into the hands of the *Nuntio*. The *Signory* was not at all moved at it, but boldly declared the Sentence of Excommunication null and abuſive; nor was there any Eccleſiaſtick in their whole Territories, who would attempt the publiſhing it, or durſt obſerve the Interdict, or make Divine Service ceaſe. There were only the *Capucins* and the *Jeſuits*, who reſolved to depart, and demand leave of the *Signory*. They granted it to the *Capucins*, with liberty to return when they pleaſed; and to the *Jeſuits*, with prohibitions of ever re-entring their Dominions.

He Excommunicates the Senate

They declare his Sentence of Excommunication null & abuſive.

Things being thus embroiled to the utmoſt between theſe two Powers, the *Spaniards* look't out with a ſharp eye, to make their profit of theſe Diviſions; and under-hand caſt oyl into the fire, though openly they made ſhew of extinguiſhing it. For on the one ſide they encouraged the *Venetians*, and heartned them up to maintain their Rights; and on the other, they commanded their Governours of *Naples* and *Milan* to ſerve the holy Father with

1607.

Part III. with all their powers. *Henry* the Great more sincere and more dis-interested, embraced this occasion, to establish his power in *Italy*, in a more fair and just manner. He assured the Pope, that as the true Eldest Son of the Church, he would always sustain its Interests; and that in case of Rupture, he would go himself in person with an Army of forty thousand men: but he intreated him that before it came to that, he would grant that he should try all means possible for an Accommodation.

Henry the Great undertakes to accommodate the difference.

He answered likewise to the Ambassador of *Venice*, who demanded his assistance, that he ought it to the holy Father in prejudice of all others: And therefore he exhorted the *Signory* to give him content; which that they might do without wounding their Honour or Rights, he desired to be Mediator.

Both Parties having accepted his Mediation, he dispatched the Cardinal *Joyeuse* into *Italy*; who, to speak all in two words, managed this Negotiation with so much Prudence, that in the end he concluded an Accord. The Treaty contained four Principal Articles. 1. That the *Signory* should consign the two Prisoners into the hands of the Ambassadour of *France*, to remit them to his Holiness. 2. That they should revoke the Manifesto and Declaration they had made against the Apostolick Censures. 3. That they should re-establish all Ecclesiasticks in their Goods. 4. That the Pope should give them absolution

He sends to this purpose Cardinal *Joyeuse*, who concludes an Accommodation.

tion; and that in requital, they ſhould ſend to thank him by a Noble Embaſſy, and aſſure him of their filial obedience. Part III.

The Pope abſolves the *Signory*.

On the morrow the Cardinal *de Joyeuſe* coming to the place aſſigned by the Senate, the doors being ſhut, in the preſence of the Duke and five and twenty Senators, and the Ambaſſadour of *France*, revoked the Excommunication, and gave Abſolution to the *Signory*. All theſe things paſſed without the *Spaniards* having the leaſt participation, though they endeavoured to make themſelves of the Feaſt. Thus had both Parties ſome ſort of contentment, by the intermiſſion of *Henry* the Great.

There was nothing but the re-eſtabliſhment of the *Jeſuits* not obtained.

There was only the buſineſs of the *Jeſuits*, which for ſome months retarded the Treaty, and which ſome thought would have quite broke it; becauſe the Pope conſidering that they were driven away for his ſake, abſolutely reſolved that the *Signory* ſhould re-eſtabliſh them in their houſes and in their goods: and they were as obſtinate, rather to hazard all then to conſent to it. In fine, the Pope perſwaded by the Eloquence of Cardinal *Perron*, who was then at *Rome*, thought it better to releaſe this point, then hazard the putting *Chriſtendom* in a flame; ſo that they remained baniſhed out of the Lands of the *Signory*. The preſent Pope, *Alexander* the Seventh, hath by his interceſſion re-eſtabliſhed them.

If

Part III. 1608. If the Accommodation of the Differences between the Pope and the *Venetians*, added much to the renown and reputation of our *Henry*, reviving the Credit of *France* beyond the mountains, where it ſeemed dead, and depreſſing as much that of the *Spaniards*, which before ſeemed Paramont; the Treaty which he managed between the King of *Spain* and the Eſtates of the United Provinces, purchaſed him no leſs fame among the Proteſtants and and the people of the North. I will recount the Hiſtory in few words.

The King endeavors an accommodation between the *Hollander* & *Spaniard*.

The United Provinces, vulgarly called *Holland*, from the name of the moſt conſiderable of the Seven Provinces which compoſe this Body, had ſome reaſon to complain, that the King had made the Treaty at *Vervins* without their conſent; and that he had obliged himſelf not to aſſiſt them, neither directly nor indirectly. However he had not ceaſed to ſupply them daily with money, and to cauſe to go to their Service a great quantity of Nobility and Voluntiers, in ſuch manner that there were many entire *French* Regiments. So that it was not without apparent reaſon, that the *Spaniards* cryed out, that he viſibly infringed the Treaty at *Vervins*: but theſe reproaches were not juſt; for they had broke it firſt by an hundred attempts, of which we have before mentioned ſome.

He underhand aſſiſts the *Hollander* with men and money.

Zanin ſent for this Accommodation

In the mean time, the King who was a good Husband of his money, was weary of furniſhing the *Hollander* with ſo much, and did great-

ly

ly wiſh them in an Eſtate that they might not put him to ſo much Charge. There was only one way to effect it, which was procuring their Peace from the *Spaniard*. He reſolved then to labour in it; and choſe the Preſident *Janin*, a man of great knowledge, to manage this Negotiation. Part III.

The two Parties preſently conſented to a Treaty of eight months; during which the Eſtates, to the end they might Treat with more reputation and ſecurity, prayed the King to grant them an offenſive and defenſive League. He willingly granted it them: of which theſe were the Principal Articles. They come preſently to an eight months Truce. The King makes an offenſive and defenſive League with the *Hollanders*.

He promiſed them faithfully to aſſiſt and aid them in all he could, to obtain from the King of *Spain* a good and aſſured Peace. That if it pleaſed God they did obtain it, he would cauſe it to be obſerved with all his power; and would defend them againſt all who would infringe it; and to this effect he would maintain in their Service ten thouſand Foot-men at his own Charges, ſo long as they ſhould have need of them. Reciprocally the States obliged, that if he were aſſaulted in his Kingdom by whoſoever it were, they would immediately aſſiſt him with five thouſand Foot-men at their own Expence: and they would leave it to the Kings choice, to take this aſſiſtance in Souldiers, or in Ships fitted and furniſhed at all points to fight at Sea.

The *Spaniards* were extremely Alarm'd at The *Spaniards* Alarm'd at this League.

Part III.

at this League. *Don Pedro de Toledo*, one of the greateſt Lords of *Spain*, paſſing through *France* to go to the Low-Countries, made great Complaints to the King: Nevertheleſs, many imagined that all the noiſe he made, tended only to oblige him the rather to proſecute the Peace for the *Hollanders*: for *Spain* was even to extremity wearied with a War ſo long, ſo tireſom and ſo bloody, with ſo great Expences and ſo little progreſs.

Don Pedro de Toledo makes great complaints to the King.

This *Don Pedro*, according to the humour of the *Spaniſh* Nobility, was of an auſtere and grave countenance, high and magnificent in his words, when he ſpoke of the Honour and Glory of his Nation, and the power of his King: but out of that, courteous and civil, ſubmiſſive and reſpectful where he ſhould be ſo, gallant, witty and ſpriteful. There paſſed between the King and him, things very remarkable, which we muſt not forget.

Things very curious which paſſed betwixt the King and *Don Pedro*

The King believing that he brought him threats of War, and knowing that the *Spaniards* had ſpread abroad a report that he was quite lame with the Gout, and unable to mount on Horſe-back; he would make him know that his ſtrength and activity was not at all diminiſhed. He received him in the great Gallery at *Fountainbleau*, and made him take twenty or thirty turns at ſo great a pace, that he put him out of breath; and after told him, *You ſee now, Sir, how well I am.*

At

At this first Audience *Don Pedro* brought his Beads in his hand. He represented to the King the general Interest that all Catholick Princes had in the Ruine or Conversion of Hereticks, and the great Wars which his Master had made for this purpose. Afterward changing his discourse, he told him, that the Catholick King earnestly desired to Ally himself more strictly with him, and to make Marriages between their Children, Provided that the King would renounce the Alliance and Protection of the Low-Countries. The King freely answered, that his Children were of so good a House as might well be accepted; that he desired no constrained Friendships nor Conditions; that he could not abandon his Friends; but that those who would not be so, might repent them of being his Enemies. Part III.

Their Entertainments.

Don Pedro upon this exalted the greatness and power of *Spain*. The King without being moved, let him know that it was the Statue of *Nebuchadnezzar*, composed of several sorts of matters, and which had its feet of Clay. *Don Pedro* came to reproaches and threats. The King soon gave him his change, and told him, That if the King of *Spain* continued his Attempts, he would carry flames even into the *Escurial*; and that if he once mounted on Horse-back, he would soon be at *Madrid*. The *Spaniard* arrogantly answered him, *King* Francis *was there indeed*. *It was therefore*, replied the King, *that I would go to revenge his injuries, those of* France, *and my own*.

Lively and quick Replies.

After

Part III. After some words a little high, the King with a more still voice told him: *My Lord Ambassadour, you are a* Spaniard, *and I a* Gascon, *let us not grow passionate.* They returned then to terms of sweetness and Civility.

Another time the King shewing him his Buildings at *Fountainbleau*, and demanding of him what he thought of them? he replied, that in his opinion he had lodged God very narrowly. There was then but two Chappels, which were in the Court, made in oval, and which were truly very little. The King could not endure to have his Piety accused; and therefore answered him very sharply: *You* Spaniards *know not how to give God other then Material Temples; we* French *men lodge God not only in stones, we lodge him in our hearts: but though he should be lodged in yours, I fear it would be in stone still.*

From *Fountainbleau* they came to *Paris*, where the King one day shewing him his Gallery of the *Louvre*, and demanding his opinion of it; *The* Escurial *is much another thing*, said *Don Pedro. I believe it*, replied the King; *but has it a* Paris *about it like my Gallery?*

One day *Don Pedro* seeing at the *Louvre* the Kings Sword in the hands of one of his Followers, advanced to it, and putting one knee on the ground, kissed it; *rendring this honour*, said he, *to the most glorious Sword in Christendom.*

Don Pedro kisses the Kings Sword.

During the Truce of eight months, of which we have spoken, the President *Janin* incessantly laboured for a Treaty. There were

two

two great difficulties; one, that the King of *Spain* would not treat with the United Provinces, but as with Subjects; and they would have him acknowledge them to be free and independent: the other, that the Prince of *Orange*, whose power and authority would be extremely weakned by the Peace, opposed it by a thousand Artifices, being sustained in it by the Provinces of *Zealand*, who ever desired War, and by some Cities of its Faction.

Part III. Two obstacles in the Treaty of the *Hollanders* surmounted by the King.

These two obstacles were in the end surmounted. The *Spaniard* yielded to the first, and acknowledged that he owned the States for Free States, Provinces, and Countries: and about the second, the King spoke so high to the Prince of *Orange*, that he durst not stop the course of the Treaty. It ended no longer however in a Peace, but only in a Truce of twelve years, which was free and assured Commerce on one part and on the other.

The Treaty ends in a twelve years Truce.

The Renown of this Accommodation carried the Kings glory throughout all *Europe*. The Duke of *Venice* told our Ambassadour in the Senate, *That that* Signory *entred into new admiration of the prudent Conduct of our King, who never deceived himself in his undertaking, nor never gave blow in vain: that he was the true Upholder of the repose and felicity of Christendom, and that it had nothing of happiness to desire, but that he might reign for ever.* An Elogy so much the more worthy and glorious, because we may say with truth, that *Venice* hath

Great praise given by the Republick of *Venice* to our *Henry*.

Part III. still been the Seat of Politick Wisdom, and that the praises which came from that Senate, are as so many Oracles.

All desire his friendship and protection.

The Friendship and Protection of this great King was sought on all sides; all was referred to his Arbitration, and all implored his assistance. And as he was equally powerfull as wise, feared as loved; there was none who durst contradict his Judgment, or assault those whom he protected. But he was so just, that he would not enterprise any thing upon the Rights of another, nor maintain the Rebellions of Subjects against their Soveraign: A certain proof of which he gave to the *Mauriſques*.

He will not protect Subjects against their Soveraign.

It is known how heretofore the *Moors* or *Sarazins* invaded all *Spain*, towards the year 725. The *Christians* with the aid of the *French*, had re-gained it from them by little and little; so that there remained no more then the Kingdom of *Granada*, which was little in Extent, but very rich, and extremely populous, becaus all the remnants of that Infidel Nation were retired into that little space. *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, and *Isabella* Queen of *Castile*, finished the Conquest of that Kingdom, in the year 1492. and so put an end to the Government of the *Moors*, and to the *Mahumetan* Religion in *Spain*; constraining the Infidels to take Baptism, or to retire into *Africa*.

What the *Mauriſques* were.

Now as those who had thus professed the *Christian* Religion had done it perforce, they for

for the moſt part remained *Mahumetans* in their hearts, or *Jews* (for there were many *Jews* amongſt them) and ſecretly brought up their Children in their incredulity. To which likewiſe the *Spaniſh* Rigour did much contribute, putting great diſtinction between the new Chriſtians and the old: For they received not the new ones either to Charges or Sacred Orders; they allied not themſelves with them, and, which is worſe, made a thouſand * *Avanies* upon them, and oppreſſed them with exceſſive Impoſts. So that theſe unfortunate people ſeeing themſelves thus trampled on, and being too weak of themſelves to looſen themſelves from their Yoak, they reſolved to addreſs themſelves to ſome ſtrange Power, but which ſhould be Chriſtian; becauſe that of the King of *Morocco*, or the other Princes of *Africa*, would have appeared too odious. To this effect they had ſecret recourſe by Deputies to our *Henry*, when he was then but King of *Navarre*. Afterwards in the year 1595. when they ſaw that he had overcome the League, and had got the upper hand in his Affairs, they again implored his Protection. He hearkened favourably to their Propoſitions; ſent diſguiſed Agents into *Spain*, to ſee the Eſtate of their Affairs; and made them hope that he would aſſiſt them. And truly he might have done it, ſince then he was in War with the King of *Spain*; and it is lawful to make uſe of all ſorts of Arms, to defend our ſelves againſt

Part III.

The *Spaniards* treat them ill.

* *An Avanie is, when by a falſe accuſation money is forced from any perſon.*

They demand aſſiſtance of *Henry* the Great.

Part III. our Enemies. But now being returned this year 1608. to sollicite him instantly to accept their propositions and offers, and to hear the answer from his own mouth; he plainly let them know, that the quality of *thrice-Christian* King which he bore, permitted him not to undertake their defence, so long as the Peace of *Vervin* lasted; but that if the *Spaniard* should first openly infringe it, he should have just cause to receive them into his Protection.

He refuses it.

Their Deputies having lost all hopes on this side, addressed themselves to the King of *England*, whom they found yet less disposed then he, to lend them assistance. In the mean time their Plots having taken wind in the Court of *Spain*, caused both fear and astonishment: for they were near a million of souls, and were possessed of almost all the Traffick, particularly that of Oyls, which is very great in that Country.

The King of *Spain* banisheth them all.

King *Philip* the Third found no other secure way to hinder the dangerous effects of their Conspiracies, but banishing them quite out of his Territories; which he did by an Edict of the tenth of *January*, in the year 1610. which was executed with much cruelty, Inhumanity and Treachery. For in Transporting these unfortunate people into *Africa*, as they had demanded, part were drowned in the Sea, others despoiled of all they had: so that those who remained to depart, perceiving the ill Treatments of their Com-

They are horribly ill Treated by the *Spaniards*,

Companions, fled towards *France*: one part by Land to St. *John de Luz*, to the number of one hundred and fifty thousand; others in *French* Vessels, who brought them into divers Ports of the Kingdom. But to speak truth, those who came by Land were not much better treated by the *French*, then the others had been by the *Spaniards*: for in crossing the Countries, they were almost all robbed and stript, and their Wives and Daughters ravished: so that finding so little safety in a Country wherein they believed they might find refuge, they embarqued by the Kings permission in the Ports of *Languedoc*, and crossed over into *Africa*, where they are become implacable, and most cruel Enemies to all Christians. There remained some families in the Maritime Cities of the Kingdom, as in *Bourdeaux* and *Rouen*; where it is suspected there is yet some of their Children, who privately follow the obstinacy of their Fathers.

Part III.

and by the *French*.

They are carried into *Africa*, but some stay in *France*.

Much contrary to the taking the protection of these Infidels, the King was about very great designs for the glory and extent of the Christian Religion towards the *Levant*. But he would not declare himself, till he had so ordered the Affairs of *Christendom*, that there should be no fear of any trouble or division, and that it might make use of all its Forces against so powerful an enemy as the *Grand Signor*. Out of these thoughts, he had sent three or four Gentlemen into the *Levant*, who under the pretext of travelling and visiting the

The great design of *Henry* IV. for the extent of the Christian Religion in the *Levant*.

He sends some to spy the Country

Part III. holy places, might take notice of the Country, the disposition of the people, the estate of their Forces, the Garrisons, and Government of the Turks. Which having well considered, he promised himself, that after having composed the Interests, and procured the Union of the Christian Princes, he might in three or four years at most ruine this Power esteemed so terrible, and that with an Army of five and thirty thousand foot-men, and twelve thousand horse only: *Alexander* the Great not having had more Forces to destroy the Empire of the *Persians*, which without doubt was greater and more powerful then that of the *Turks*.

I shall declare what his great Design for the re-union of *Christendom* was, when I shall in brief have observed some important things, which passed in the three or four last years of his Life.

He seeks means to raise money without burthening his people.

As he laboured diligently to heap up money, the Nerves of War, so he hearkned to all Propositions made for the gaining it; so much the more willingly, because his design was to abolish all Taxes and Impositions. The first could not be done without much diminishing his Revenue; so it was necessary to find some other foundation in its place. Now this stock or foundation was the Demains of the Crown, which he would entirely disengage and increase by a great quantity of new Rights, and particularly by that of the * *Greffes*, which had been quite withdrawn for five or six years, but had brought him fifteen Millions a year. But when he

He would disengage his Demain.

* *The Greffes is a due to the King of 63 s. 9 d. Tours upon the sale of wood in several places.*

he was dead, Queen *Mary de Medicis* re-engaged it farther then it was before.

It is certainly worth our wishing, that this Sacred Patrimony of the Crown might be regained; and that care were taken to re-gather this Mass, which the Law of the Realm, and the diligences of so many wise Heads, have made and composed for the space of so many Ages, to maintain our Kings with Splendor and Magnificence, without being a charge to their Kingdom, except in great and urgent necessities.

and take off the Impost by buying the Salt-Marishes.

As for the Impost, our *Henry* had a desire to buy from the particular Owners all the Salt-Marishes of *Poictou* and *Britanny*; and then when he had them in his hand, sell the Salt upon the place at what price he pleased to the Merchant, who should again retail it through the whole Kingdom, as they do Corn, without any constraint or imposition. In this manner there had been no need of so many Officers, Overseers, Controulers, Factors, and a hundred other people, which without fallacy amounted to near twenty thousand, all fed and paid at the expence of the King and Publick, and against whom he had often very great complaints. Thus the poor Country-people would not be burthened by them with imposed Salt; constraining them, will they, nill they, to take yearly a certain quantity: and it is certain the people would have had it four times better cheap then they have, and the King have raised much more money then he doth, without expence, without pains, and with-

Book III. without the vexation of his Subjects.

Now the King seeking means to fill his Coffers, and to find some other way then Taxes, it must be acknowledged that he made some Impositions, and likewise some creation of Officers; but that he removed many things which gave cause of complaint to many persons. And moreover, to pay his ancient Debts, and acquit himself of the recompences and pensions due to those which had served him in his Wars against the League, he was constrained to pass for their profit the advice of several things which they proposed: so that he loaded himself with that envy and those reproaches, which ought more justly have fallen upon those people then on himself. But those who knew his intentions, blamed him not as did the others: for they called that good husbandry and wise œconomy, which some termed avarice and insatiable covetousness.

He is constrained to acquit himself of old scores to make some new Impositions & Creations.

Moreover, though the will of this Prince was very good for the ease of his people, and for the grandeur of his Estate, nevertheless it cannot be denied but he was sometimes deceived in the choice of the means; and that all those whereby he furnished himself, were not always as innocent as his intentions. He had two particularly, of which the one made some noise, but never succeeded; and the other was of very dangerous consequence.

He makes not always use of innocent means.

The first, was an inquisition of the Rents of the * *Hostel de Ville*, by which he pretended to make those lose them, who had ill gained them;

* *Hostel de Ville* is the same at Paris, as Guild-hall at London.

them; and this in it ſelf was very juſt: but moſt part of the Rents having changed Owners, or been parted, he muſt of force trouble an infinite number of Families: ſo that all *Paris* was moved at it, and the Landlords had recourſe to their Provoſt of the Merchants. This was *Miron*, who was likewiſe *Civil Lieutenant*; a man very zealous for the ſervice of the King, as he had demonſtrated in ſeveral occaſions: but withal, a very honeſt man, and one whom no intereſt in the world could bribe againſt the peoples, whoſe Magiſtrate he was. In ſum, he ſuſtained it ſtoutly, he ſpoke in the Aſſemblies of the *Hoſtel de Ville*, acted with the Superintendent with like vigour, and made Remonſtrances to the King. But in theſe Remonſtrances, too much heat tranſported him to make ſome odious Compariſons, not of the Kings perſon, but of ſome people of his Council.

Part I.

Miron, Provoſt of the Merchants, ſuſtains the intereſt of the people.

The *Louvre* ſtormed; the people of the Court cryed out, that he had blaſphemed thoſe whom he had taken notice of in his ſpeeches. And thoſe who were intereſted in this Inquiſition after Rents, uſed all their endeavours to incenſe the King, and to perſwade him to puniſh rigorouſly this boldneſs. On the other ſide, the people having underſtood that their Magiſtrate was threatned, took fire ſooner then it was believed: the Burgeſſes came in Troops about his houſe to defend it. *Miron* inſtantly intreated them to retire, and not to make him Criminal. He remonſtrated to

Some would incenſe the King againſt him.

The people riſe to defend him.

Part III. to them, that he feared nothing; that they had to do with a King as ſweet and juſt as he was great and wiſe, and who would not let himſelf be carried away by the perſwaſions of ill Counſellours.

The King counſelled to take him by force.

The Kings wiſe anſwer worthy a great Politician.

Upon this, thoſe who wiſhed him ill, imployed all their endeavours to engage the King to take him by force, and to make valid his Supreme Authority: but he wiſely anſwered theſe people, That Authority doth not always conſiſt in proſecuting things to the utmoſt extremity: That the time, the perſons, and the cauſe, ought to be regarded: That having been ten years extinguiſhing the fire of Civil War, he feared even the leaſt ſparkles: That *Paris* had coſt him too much, to hazard the leaſt danger of loſing it; which ſeemed to him infallible, if he followed their counſel, becauſe he ſhould be obliged to make terrible Examples, which would in few days deprive him of the glory of his Clemency, and the love of his people, which he prized as much as, nay above, his Crown: That he had in an hundred other occaſions made proof of the fidelity and honeſty of *Miron*, who had no ill intention; but without doubt he believed himſelf obliged by the duty of his Charge, to do what he did: That if ſome inconſiderate words had eſcaped him, he mignt well pardon them for his paſt Services: That after all, if this man affected to be the Martyr of the people, he would not give him that glory, nor attract to himſelf the name of Perſecutor or Tyrant: And that in fine,

fine, he would not proſecute a man whom he would reſolve to loſe, in ſo advantagious occaſions. Part II.

Thus this wiſe King knew how prudently to diſſemble a little fault: nor would he underſtand what paſſed, for fear of being obliged to ſome blow of Authority, which might poſſibly have had dangerous Conſequences. He received therefore very favourably the excuſes and humble ſubmiſſions of *Miron*, and after prohibited the farther purſuing the inquiſitions of Rents, which had cauſed ſo much trouble. He will not purſue this buſineſs of the Rents.

The ſecond means of which he ſerved himſelf to raiſe money, and which was of very dangerous conſequence, was the *Paulete*, or Annual Right. To underſtand this buſineſs well, we muſt make ſome recital of things farther off. Eſtabliſhment of the *Paulete*.

The Offices of Judicature, of Policy, and of the Revenues, had formerly been exerciſed in *France* under the firſt and ſecond Race of our Kings, by Gentlemen: for the Nobility was obliged to ſtudy and underſtand the Laws of the Kingdom. They were choſen for the maturity of their Age and Judgment: they were changed from time to time, from one ſeat to another: nor took they any Fees from Parties, but only a Salary very moderate, which the Publick paid them rather for honour then recompence. Afterwards in the end of the ſecond Race, and the beginning of the third, the Nobility becoming ignorant and weak Juſtice formerly adminiſtred in *France* by Gentlemen.

Part III. weak together, the Plebeians and Burgeſſes having learnt the knowledge of the Laws, raiſed themſelves by little and little to theſe Charges, and began to make them better worth, becauſe they drew all their Honour and all their Dignity thence, not having any other by their birth, as the Gentlemen had. Yet they had not over-much imployment; for the Churchmen poſſeſſed almoſt all the Juriſdiction, and had their Officers which adminiſtred Juſtice.

How it fell into the hands of the Plebeians, who made profit of it.

In the mean time, the Parliament, which before was as the Council of Eſtate of the Kingdom, and an Epitomy of the general Eſtates, taking upon them to trouble themſelves with the knowledge of differences between particular perſons, whereas before they only treated of great Affairs of Policy; *Philip* the fair, or according to ſome others, *Lewis Hutin* his Son, made it ſedentary at *Paris*. Now this Company of Judges being moſt illuſtrious, becauſe the King often took ſeat amongſt them, the Dukes, Peers, and Prelates of the Realm made a part of them, and that the moſt able people for Law were choſen to fill places there; they made depend upon them all the power: of other Judges-Royal; to wit, the Bailiffs and Seneſchals, who though before Soveraign Judges, became now Subalternate to them.

The Parliament of *France* meddle with particular affairs, and is made ſedentary at *Paris*.

They make all other Judges Subalternate to them.

Long time after, our other Kings created likewiſe at divers times many other Parliaments, but out of a ſole intention the better to diſtribute Juſtice without any pecuniary intereſt:

interest: for by it they charged their Coffers with new Wages, to be paid these new Officers. Part II.

At this time the number of the Officers of Justice was very small; and the order which was observed to fill the vacancies in Parliament, perfectly good. The custom was, to keep a Register of all the able Advocates and Lawyers; and when any Office came to be vacant, they chose three, whose Names they carried to the King, who preferred him he pleased. But the Favourites and the Courtiers soon corrupted this Order: they perswaded the Kings not to confine themselves to those presented, but to name one of their proper motion: which those people did, to draw some Present from him who should be named by their recommendation. And the abuse was so great, that oftentimes the Charges were filled with ignorant People and Porters; by reason of which, people of merit held the condition of an Advocate much more honourable then that of a Counsellour. The number of the Officers of Parliament small.

The mischief daily increasing, and the rich people becoming extremely liquorish of these Charges for lucre, and their Wives out of vanity, those who governed began to make a Merchandize of them, and to draw money from them. Thus under *Lewis* the XII. his Coffers being exhausted by the long Wars of *Italy*, the Offices of the Revenue began to become vendible. However, that good King having soon foreseen the dangerous consequence, How Offices became vendible.

Part III. under Francis I. * He had often said, That fat Boy would spoil all.

quence, resolved to re-imburse those who had bought them: but dying in that good design, *Francis* the First, of whom he had well predicted that he would * spoil all, sold likewise those of Judicature: afterwards new ones were at several times created, only of purpose to raise money.

and Henry II.

Afterwards *Henry* the Second his Son created the Presidents; and *Charles* the Ninth, and *Henry* the Third heaping ill upon ill, and ruine upon ruine, made a great number of other Creations of all sorts, to have these Wares to sell. And moreover, they sold Offices when they were vacant, either by death or forfeiture.

Hitherto the ill was great, but not incurable: a part of these Offices need only have been suppressed, when they became vacant; and the rest when so, filled with persons of Capacity and Merit. Thus in twenty years, this Ants-nest of Officers might have been reduced to a very little number, and those as honest people.

How this might be remedied.

But the business was not in this manner made known to *Henry* the Great: they represented it to him in another sense. They let him understand, that since he drew no profit from vacant Offices, being almost always obliged to give them, he would do well to find the means to discharge that way his Coffers of a part of the Wages he paid his Officers; which he might do, by granting them their Offices for their Heirs; reserving a moderate sum of

money

money which they ſhould yearly pay, yet without conſtraining any perſon; ſo that it ſhould be a favour, and not an oppreſſion. This was named the Annual Right, otherwiſe the *Paulete*, from the name of the Propoſer, named *Paulete*, who gave the Counſel, and was the firſt Farmer. All the Officers were not wanting to pay this Right, to aſſure their Offices to their Heirs. Part III. But on the contrary is made incurable by the *Paulete*.

We need not here tell the miſchiefs and inconveniencies which this wicked invention hath cauſed, and doth daily cauſe. The moſt ſtupid may eaſily know them, and ſee well that it is a diſeaſe whoſe remedy at preſent is difficult. Which cauſes great abuſes.

I will not charge this Hiſtory with all the Ceremonies and Rejoycings made at the Birth and Baptiſm of all the Children of *Henry* the Great; nor at divers Marriages of the Princes and Grandees of the Court, amongſt others of the Prince of *Conde*, and the Duke of *Vendoſme*, which were made in the month of *July*, 1609.

1609. Marriage of the Prince of *Conde*.

The Prince of *Conde* Eſpouſed *Charlotta Margarita* of *Montmorency*, Daughter of the Conſtable; who was wonderfully fair, and had a preſence abſolutely noble: which the King having conſidered, was more lively ſtruck with her, then he had ever been with any other; which cauſed a little after, the Retreat of the Prince of *Conde*, who carried her into *Flanders*, and thence retired to *Milan*: Not without the Kings extreme diſpleaſure, to

Part III. to see the first Prince of his Blood cast himself into his Enemies hands.

And of the Duke of *Vendosme.*

The Duke of *Vendosme* Espoused *Madamoiselle de Merceur*, to whom he had been affianced since the year One thousand six hundred ninety seven, as we have said before; however, the Mother of the Lady standing upon high punctilio's of honour, brought many troubles to the accomplishment of this Marriage; so that it had never been made, had not the King highly concerned himself in it. This was none of the least difficulties of his life: for he had a high and obstinate spirit to bend; however, he imployed only ways of sweetness and perswasion; acting in this business, only as a Father who loved his Son, and not as a King who would be obeyed.

What were the Kings divertisements.

Now will I speak of his ordinary Divertisements, Hunting, Building, Feasts, Play, and Walking. I will add only, That in Feasts and Merriments he would appear as good a Companion, and as Jovial as another: That he was of a merry humour when he had the glass in his hand, though very sober: That his Mirth and good Discourses were the delicatest part of the good Chear: That he witnessed no less Agility and Strength in Combats at the Barriers, Courses at the Ring, and all sorts of Gallantries, then the youngest Lords: That he took delight in Balls, and Danced sometimes; but to speak the truth, with more affection then good grace. Some carped that so great a Prince should abase himself to such

such follies, and that a Grey-beard should pleaſe to act the young man. It may be ſaid for his excuſe, that the great toils of his ſpirit had need of theſe divertiſements. But I know not what to anſwer to thoſe who reproach him with too great a love to playing at Cards and Dice, little befitting a great King; and that withal he was no fair Gameſter, but greedy of Coin, fearful at great Stakes, and humorous upon a loſs. To this I muſt acknowledge, that it was a fault in this great King, who was no more exempt from Blots, then the Sun from Beams.

Part III.

He loved Play too much.

It might be wiſhed for the honour of his Memory, that he had been only guilty of this; but that continual weakneſs he had for fair Ladies, was another much more blamable in a Chriſtian Prince, in a man of his age, who was married; to whom God had ſhewed ſo many graces, and who had conceived ſuch great deſigns in his ſpirit. Sometimes he had deſires which were paſſant, and only fixt for a night: but when he met with Beauties which ſtruck him to the heart, he loved even to folly; and in theſe tranſports appeared nothing leſs then *Henry* the Great.

He was extremely given to Women.

The Fable ſays that *Hercules* took the Spindle and Spun, for the love of the fair *Omphale*. *Henry* did ſomething more mean for his Miſtreſſes. He once diſguiſed himſelf like a Country-man, with a Wallet of Straw on his back, to come to the fair *Gabriella*. And it hath been reported, that the Marchioneſs

This paſſion made him do ſhameful things.

Part III. of *Verneuil* hath seen him more then once at her feet, weeping his disdains and injuries.

Three or four of his Mistresses.

Twenty Romances might be made of the Intrigues of his several Loves with the Countess of *Guiche*, when he was yet but King of *Navarre*; with *Jacqueline* of *Bueil*, whom he made Countess of *Moret*; and with *Charlotta d'Essards*, without counting many other Ladies, who held it a glory to have some Charm for so great a King.

This causes often contentions with his Wife.

The high esteem and affection which the *French* had for him, hindred them from being offended at so scandalous a liberty: but the Queen his Wife was extremely perplexed at it; which hourly caused controversies between them, and carried her to disdains and troublesom humours. The King, who was in fault, endured it very patiently, and imployed his greatest Confidents, and sometimes his Confessor, to appease his spirit. So that he had continually a reconciliation to make. And these contentions were so ordinary, that the Court which at first were astonished at them, in the end took no more notice.

Conjugal duty without doubt obliged the King not to violate his faith to his Legitimate Spouse, at least not to keep his Mistresses in her sight: but if he in this point ought to have been a good Husband, so he ought to be likewise in that of Authority, and in accustoming his Wife to obey him with more submission, and not perplex him as she did with hourly complaints, reproaches, and sometimes threats.

The

The trouble and displeasure of these domestick broils, certainly retarded the Execution of that great design which he had formed for the good and perpetual repose of *Christendom*, and in fine, for the destruction of the *Ottoman* Power. Part III. And hinders his great design.

Many have spoken diversly; but see here what I find in the *Memoires* or Notes of the Duke of *Sully*; who certainly must know something, being, as he was, so great a Confident of this Kings: which makes me report it from him. What that was.

The King (said he) desiring to put in Execution those projects he had conceived after the Peace of *Vervin*, believed that he ought first to establish in his Kingdom an unshaken Peace, by reconciling all Spirits both to him and among themselves, and taking away all causes of bitterness. And that moreover, it was necessary for him to chuse people capable and faithful; who might see in what his Revenue or Estate might be bettered, and instruct him so well in all his Affairs, that he might of himself take Counsels, and discern the good from the ill, feasible from impossible Enterprises, and such as were proportionate to his Revenues. "For an expence made be-"yond them, draws the peoples curses, "and those are ordinarily followed by "Gods. The means with which he served himself, to put it in execution. To this purpose he grants an Edict to the *Hugonots*, and pays his debts.

He granted an Edict to the *Hugonots*, that the two Religions might live in Peace. Afterwards he made a certain and fixed Or-

Part III. der to pay his debts, and those of the Kingdom contracted by the disorders of the times, the profusions of his Ancestors, and by the payments and purchases of men and places, which he was forced to make during the League. *Sully* shewed him an account in the year 1607. by which appeared Acquittances for eighty seven Millions: which established the Reputation and Credit of *France* among Strangers, by whom it was before much cryed out upon.

Which regains the reputation and credit of *France*.

He joyns to him all *Christian* Princes by promising his Conquests.

That done, he continually laboured to joyn in his great design all *Christian* Princes, offering to give them all the fruit of his Enterprises against the Infidels, without reserving any thing for himself: for he would not, said he, have other Estates then *France*.

He re-unites them, by accommodating their differences.

He likewise proposed to himself the seeking of all occasions to extinguish disorders, and to pacifie differences among the *Christian* Princes, so soon as they should see them conceived; and that without any other interest, then that of the Reputation of a Prince Generous, dis-interested, wise and just.

The Princes he made his friends.

He began to make his Friends and Associates the Princes and Estates which seemed best disposed towards *France*, and the least indisposed to its interests; as the Estates of *Holland*, or the United Provinces; the *Venetians*, the *Swisses*, and the *Grisons*. After having bound them to him by very strong ties, he endeavoured to negotiate with the three puissant

puiſſant Kingdoms of the North. *England*, *Denmark*, and *Swedeland*; to diſcuſs and decide their differences, and likewiſe to endeavour to reconcile them to the Pope, or at leaſt to obtain a ceſſation of that hatred and enmity by ſome formulary, in ſuch manner as they might live together: ſo that it had been advantagious to the Pope, in that they had acknowledged him for the firſt Prince of *Chriſtendom* as to Temporals, and in that caſe rendred him all reſpect. He endeavoured in fine to do the ſame thing among the Electors, the Eſtates and Cities Imperial; being obliged particularly, ſaid he, to take care of an Empire had been founded by his Predeceſſors. Afterwards he ſounded the Lords of *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Tranſylvania*, and *Poland*, to know if they would concur with him in the deſign of taking away and rooting up for ever all cauſes of trouble and diviſion in *Chriſtendom*. He treated after that with the Pope, who approved and praiſed his Enterprize, and deſired to contribute on his part all that ſhould be poſſible.

Part III.

How he would have accommodated the Proteſtant Princes with the Pope.

He treats with Electors.

With the Lords of *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, & *Poland*.

With the Pope.

Theſe were the diſpoſitions of his great deſign, of which I ſhall now ſhew you the Platform and Model.

He deſired perfectly to unite all *Chriſtendom*, ſo that it ſhould be one body, which had been and ſhould be called the *Chriſtian Commonwealth*: for which effect he had determined to part it into fifteen Dominions or Eſtates; which was the moſt he could do to make them of equal power and ſtrength, and whoſe limits

Model of the deſign of *Hen.* 4.

He would part *Chriſtendom* into fifteen equal Dominions.

Part III. should be so well specified by the universal consent of the whole fifteen, that none could pass beyond them. These fifteen Dominations were the *Pontificate* or *Papacy*, the Empire of *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, *Great Britain*, *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, *Poland*, *Denmark*, *Swedeland*, *Savoy*, or the Kingdom of *Lombardy*, the *Signory* of *Venice*, the *Italian* Common-wealth, or of the little Princes and Cities of *Italy*, the *Belgians* or *Low-Countries*, and the *Suisses*.

To wit, eleven Kingdoms and four Republicks.

Of these Estates, there had been five successive; *France*, *Spain*, *Great Britain*, *Swedeland*, and *Lombardy*: six elective; the *Papacy*, the *Empire*, *Hungary*, *Bohemia*. *Poland*, and *Denmark*: four Republicks; two of which had been *Democratical*, to wit, the *Belgians* and the *Swisses*; and two *Aristocratical* or *Signories*, that of *Venice*, and that of the little Princes and Cities of *Italy*.

What the Pope had had.

The Pope had had besides those Lands he possesses, the whole Kingdom of *Naples*, and Homages, as well of the *Italian* Commonwealth, as for the Island of *Sicily*.

The *Signory* of *Venice*.

The *Signory* of *Venice* had had *Sicily* in Faith and Homage of the holy Seat, without other rights then a simple kissing of feet, and a Crucifix of gold, from twenty years to twenty years.

The *Italian* Commonwealth.

The *Italian* Commonwealth had been composed of the Estates of *Florence*, *Genoua*, *Lucca*, *Mantoua*, *Parma*, *Modena*, *Minacho*, and other little Princes and Lords; and had likewise held of the holy Seat, paying only for all by advance of a Crucifix of gold worth ten thousand Franks.

The

The Duke of *Savoy*, beſides thoſe Lands he poſſeſſed, ſhould likewiſe have *Milan*; and all ſhould be erected into a Kingdom by the Pope, under the Title of the Kingdom of *Lombardy*; from which ſhould have been taken *Cremona* in exchange of *Montferrat*, which ſhould be joyned. Part III. Duke of *Savoy*.

There ſhould have been incorporated with the *Helvetian* or Republick of the *Suiſſes*, the *French County*, *Alſatia*, *Tirol*, the Country of *Trent* and their dependences; and it had done a ſimple Homage to the Emperour of *Germany*, from five and twenty to five and twenty years. Republick of the *Suiſſes*.

All the ſeventeen Provinces of the Low-Countries, as well Proteſtants as Catholicks, ſhould have been eſtabliſhed into a free and ſoveraign Republick, ſave only a like Homage to the Empire: and this Dominion ſhould have bee increaſed by the Dutchy of *Cleves*, of *Juliers*, of *Berghe*, *de la Mark*, and *Ravenſtein*, and other little neighbouring *Signories*. The Low-Countries

To the Kingdom of *Hungary* had been joyned the Eſtates of *Tranſylvania*, *Moldavia*, and *Valachia*. Kingdom of *Hungary*.

The Emperour had for ever renounced aggrandizing himſelf or his by any confiſcation, diſinheritance, or reverſion of Fiefs Maſculine; but had diſpoſed vacant Fiefs in favour of perſons out of his Kindred, by the conſent of the Electors and Princes of the Empire. It ſhould likewiſe have been held of accord that the Empire ſhould never upon any occaſion whatſo- The Empire with free Election.

Part III. ever be held successively by two Princes of one House, for fear of its perpetuating, as it hath for a long time in that of *Austria*.

Bohemia & *Hungary* elective.

The Kingdom of *Hungary* and of *Bohemia* had been likewise elective by the voice of seven Electors; to wit, 1. that of the Nobles, Clergy, and Cities of that Country: 2. of the Pope: 3. of the Emperour: 4. of the King of *France*: 5. of the King of *Spain*: 6. of the King of *England*: 7. of the Kings of *Swedeland*, *Denmark*, and *Poland*, who all three had made but one voice.

A general Council of sixty persons.

Besides, to regulate the differences which might arise between the Confederates, and to decide them without sight of Fact, there should have been established an Order and Form of Procedure by a general Council, composed of sixty persons, four on the part of every Dominion, which should have been placed in some City in the midst of *Europe*, as *Mets*, *Nancy*, *Collen*, or others.

Three others, of each twenty.

There should likewise have been established three others in three several places, every one of twenty men, which should all three make report to the grand Council.

Order to hinder Tyranny and Rebellion,

Moreover, by the consent of the general Council, which should be called the Senate of the Christian Common-wealth, there should be established an Order and Regulation between Soveraigns and Subjects; to hinder on one side the Oppression and Tyranny of Princes; and on the other side, the Tumults and Rebellions of Subjects. There should likewise

wiſe be raiſed and aſſured a ſtock of money and men, to which every Dominion ſhould contribute according to the Aſſeſſment of the great Council, for the aſſiſtance of the Dominions bordering upon Infidels from their Aſſaults, to wit, *Hungary* and *Poland* againſt thoſe of the Turks; and *Swedeland* and *Poland* againſt the *Muſcovites* and *Tartars.* Part III. and to aſſiſt the Provinces adjoyning to Infidels.

After when all theſe fifteen Dominions had been well eſtabliſhed with their Rights, their Governours, and Limits; which he hoped might be done in leſs then three years: they ſhould together of their own accord have choſen three general Captains, two by Land, and one by Sea, who ſhould all at once have aſſaulted the *Ottoman*-houſe; to which each Dominion ſhould have contributed a certain quantity of Men, Ships, Artillery, and Money, according to the Tax impoſed. The ſum in groſs which they ſhould furniſh out, ſhould amount to two hundred ſixty five thouſand Foot-men, fifty thouſand Horſe, a Train of two hundred and ſeventeen pieces of Cannon, with Waggons, Officers, and Ammunition proportionable, and one hundred and ſeventeen great Ships, without counting Veſſels of leſs force, Fire-Ships or Ships of burden. Three general Captains, two by Land, and one by Sea, to war againſt the Turks. What Forces and what train.

This eſtabliſhment would have been advantagious to all the Princes and Eſtates of *Europe*: There was only the Houſe of *Auſtria* which would ſuffer any loſs, and which was to be deſpoiled to accommodate others. None but the Houſe of *Auſtria* had ſuffered by the eſtabliſhment.

But

Part III. But the project was laid to make them either willingly or by force consent, in this manner. First, it is to be supposed, that on the part of *Italy*, the Pope, the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, were well informed of the Kings designs, and that they ought to assist with all their Forces; especially the *Savoyard*, who was moreover extremely animated, because the King gave his Daughter in Marriage to his Son *Victor Amadeo*: In *Germany* four Electors; to wit, the *Palatine*, *Brandebourg*, *Colen*, and *Ments* were likewise to know it, and favour it: and the Duke of *Bavaria* had their word, and that of the King, to raise him to the Empire: and many Imperial Cities had already addressed themselves to the King, to beseech him to honour them with his protection, and to maintain them in their Priviledges, which had been abolished by the House of *Austria*: In *Bohemia* and *Hungaria* there was Intelligence held with the Lords and Nobility; and that the people, desperate with the weight of that yoke, were ready to shake it off, and to relieve themselves on the first proffered occasion.

In *Italy* the Pope, *Venetians* & *Savoyard*, would consent:

In *Germany* many Electors; and had chosen the Duke of *Bavaria* Emperour.

In *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, the Lords and Nobility.

All these dispositions being so favourable to him, the business of *Cleves* happened, of which we at present shall speak, which furnished him with a fair occasion to begin the execution of his projects: which he was to do in this manner.

The business of *Cleves* happens to give a beginning to the great Design.

Having raised an Army of forty thousand men, as he did, he was in his March to dispatch towards

towards all the Princes of *Chriſtendom*, to give them the knowledge of his juſt and holy intentions. After, under the pretext of going to *Cleves*, he was to ſeize all the paſſages of *la Menſe*, and all at once aſſault *Charlemont*, *Maſtrich*, and *Namur*, which were but ill fortified. At the ſame time the Cities of the Low-Countries had cryed out for liberty, and the Lords put themſelves in the Field for the ſame purpoſe; and had blazoned the *Bellique* Lyon with the *Flowers de Lis*. The *Hollanders* had infeſted the Coaſts with their Ships in very great number, to hinder the Traffick of the *Flemins* by Sea, as it was ſhut up by the *French* by Land: which ſhould have been done of purpoſe to haſten the people to ſhake off the *Spaniſh* Rule, and to addreſs themſelves to the King, and to the Princes his Aſſociates, to pray the King of *Spain* to put them in liberty, and out of his goodneſs to reſtore peace to them, which they could never hope ſo long as they were under his Dominion. Part III.

The Cities of *Flanders* ſhould revolt.

In all probable appearance, at the approach of ſo great an Army, by reaſon of the Intelligences of the principal Lords, by the Inſurrection of the great Cities, and of the love which theſe people have ſtill had for liberty, *Flanders* would all have riſen: eſpecially when they had ſeen the wonderful order and exact diſcipline of his Souldiers, who ſhould have lived like good Gueſts, paying for all, and not doing the leaſt outrage upon pain of death; and when it ſhould be known that he laboured for the ſafety

The King's Army ſhould have lived in great order.

Part III. The King would have reserved nothing of his Conquests.

safety of the people, not reserving any thing of all his Conquests, but the glory and the satisfaction of having restored those Provinces to themselves, without keeping so much as a Castle or Village to himself.

He had with other Princes prayed the Emperour to restore the Cities of the Empire to liberty.

At the same time that he had put *Flanders* into a free state, and accommodated the difference of the succession of *Cleves*, all the Princes interested in this business, the Electors we have named, and the Deputies of many great Cities, were to come and thank him, and intreat him that he would joyn his Prayers and his Authority to the supplications they had to make to the Emperour, to dispose him to restore the Estates and Cities of the Empire to their ancient Rights and Immunities; above all, in the free Election of a King of the *Romans*, without using any practices, constraints, promises, and threats: And that for this effect it should be from that moment resolved, that they should elect one of another House then that of *Austria*. They had agreed among themselves, that it should be the Duke of *Bavaria*. The Pope had joyned with them in this request; which had been made with such instance, that it had been difficult for the *Emperor*, being unarmed as he was, to have refused it.

Bohemia, *Hungary*, & *Austria* had made the same request.

The like request had been made to the King and his Associates, by the people of *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Austria*, *Stiria*, and *Carinthia*: above all, for the right they had themselves to make choice of their Prince, and to put themselves under that form of Government they

they ſhould think beſt, by the advice of their Friends and Allies. To which the King condeſcending, had uſed all ſorts of fair means, prayers, and ſupplications, even below his Dignity; that it might be ſeen he intended not ſo much to ſerve himſelf of power, as of equity and reaſon. Part III.

After this, the Duke of *Savoy* by the ſame way had demanded of the King of *Spain*, with all ſorts of Civility, and in the name of his Children, that he would be pleaſed to give them a Dower for their Mother, as good and advantagious as he had to their Aunt *Iſabella*; and in caſe of refuſal, the King was to permit *Leſdignieres* to aſſiſt him with fifteen thouſand Foot-men, and two thouſand Horſe, for the Conqueſt of *Milan*, or the Country of *Lombardy*: in which he would have been favoured by the greateſt part of the Princes of *Italy*.

The Duke of *Savoy* had demanded the Dower of his wife from the *Spaniard*.

This done, he with his Aſſociates were to beſeech the Pope and the *Venetians* to become Arbitrators between him and the King of *Spain*, to terminate friendly theſe differences, which were ready to break forth between them, by reaſon of *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Navarre*, and *Rouſſillon*. And then to ſhew that he had no thought to aggrandize himſelf, nor other ambition then to ſettle the repoſe of *Chriſtendom*; he had ſhewed himſelf ready to yield to the *Spaniard Navarre* and *Rouſſillon*, ſo that he reſtored *Naples* and *Sicily*; not for himſelf, for he would have no other Eſtate then

The Pope and *Venetians* to become Mediators of the difference of *Navarre*, *Naples*, *Savoy*, &c.

And the King had yielded his right

Part III. then *France*; but for the Pope, and for the *Venetians*, to whom he yielded his Right over those Countries.

In fine, by a Legat Apostolick, and by the Remonstrances of all his Associates, he had let the King of *Spain* understand his design, together with the Princes of the House, and had conjured them by his Blood of *Jesus Christ* to consent to it; as being Holy, Pious, Charitable, Glorious, and Profitable to all *Christendom*. They had withal laid before him the advantages which would have come to himself; and endeavoured to make him comprehend that he would be more rich, less disturbed, and more peaceable: That in twenty years *Spain*, which was almost desert, would be re-peopled, and become the most flourishing Estate of *Europe*. I believe it would have been difficult to perswade him to it: for unlimited and ill designing ambition embraces rather Chimera's then solid things, and chuses rather to possess vast and desert Countries, then a reasonable extent well cultivated and well peopled: but possibly Arms might have convinced him, had reason failed.

They had perswaded the King of *Spain*, or else forced him.

For the rest, the King had resolved to renounce all pretention; not to keep any thing of what he Conquered; not to enterprize any thing, which should not be approved by his Allies, and which he saw not them disposed to contribute to; not to begin in many distant places at a time, but to pursue his expeditions by

The great Prudence and Moderation intended by the King in the pursuit of his design.

by degrees, ſtill attending the ſucceſs of the first, before he engaged in others: To ſhew himſelf to be without Ambition, without Covetouſneſs or Pride in the diſtribution of Quarters, Victuals, Spoils, and Conqueſts: To favour weak and neceſſitated Eſtates: To ſend always ſome honourable and profitable acknowledgment to Captains or Souldiers who had done ſome fair Exploit: Never to enter into thoſe partialities often conceived between Friends and Allies, but to appear always an equal, juſt, and common friend: To treat honourably the men of War, with praiſes or reproofs when they deſerved it, and to maintain exactly Diſcipline, prohibiting Spoils, Violation and Burnings; that he might be received as the Reſtorer of Nations, and he who brought Peace and Liberty, and not Ruine and Deſolation. Part III.

The Preparations he made.

He had laid his Deſigns, made his Preparations, and fitted all his Engines to come to this end, with all diligence imaginable, for the ſpace of eight or nine years: he had made Friends and Allies on all ſides, entertained Intelligences every where, had gained the Colledge of Cardinals by great Penſions, had drawn to his Service all the good Captains in *Germany* and *Switzerland*, and had likewiſe gained all the good Pens in *Chriſtendom*: for indeed he would have choſen rather to perſwade then force people, and inſtruct them ſo well in his intentions, that they ſhould have regarded his Arms only as Tutelar Succours.

See

Part III. See here the Platform of his design; which without dissembling was so great, that it may be said, it was conceived by an Intelligence more then humane. But how high soever it was, it was not above his power: "To which "if Princes proportionate not their Enterpri-"ses, it happens that they ruine their Estates, "just as a man who undertakes a Suit at Law, "or makes greater bargains then his purse is "able to bear out, is constrained in the end "to sell his stock, and drown himself in a "Sea of debts and troubles.

The Forces he had. Besides his Forces, which were great in number, but ten times greater in valour, being all chosen men, and having amongst them four thousand Gentlemen, daring all things in sight of their King; the Prince of *Orange* was to put himself in the field with fifteen thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse: The Prince of *Anhalt* in *Germany* had appeared with ten thousand: The Electors and Duke of *Bavaria* had in a readiness twice as many, who would have met at several *Rendez-vous*, at the first Sound of the Trumpet: The *Venetians* and Duke of *Savoy* would each have declared with a considerable Army, at the first signal given. For the *Swisses*, besides the Levy of six thousand chosen men which came to the King, he might have had as many more as he would. As for his stock of Monies, all his Troops were paid for three months; his Garrisons well furnished, all his Store-

The Prince of *Orange's* Army.

That of the Electors and *German* Princes.

That of the *Venetians* and *Savoyard*.

His Exchequer to defraying this great design;

Store-houſes on the Frontiers full; his Captains honored with great Preſents which he had made them: he had fourteen Millions of Livres in the *Baſtille*, ſeven Millions in the hands of the Treaſurer of the Exchequer, of the Revenue of the preceding year; two Millions in other hands: Moreover, the accrewing Revenue, which was more then twenty ſeven Millions: and beſides all this, *Sully* his chief Treaſurer aſſured him of forty Millions extraordinary for three years; ſo that he might maintain a four years War without burthening his Subjects with new Charges. But he would do it ſo hotly, that it ſhould laſt but a ſhort time: for he held it for a Maxime, "That a wiſe Prince when he is obliged to it, "ought to make it powerful and ſhort, and at "firſt aſtoniſh the World with formidable pre- "parations, becauſe by this means it returns to "good husbandry; and the Conqueſts made "through fear of his Arms, reach farther then "thoſe made by his Arms themſelves. Part III.

He would make the War powerfully, that it might be ſhort.

I have told you what was his deſign: none but God knows what would have been the ſucceſs. We may ſay however, judging according to appearances, that it could not but be happy; for there appeared no Prince nor Eſtate in *Chriſtendom*, who would not have favoured it, or who would have taken the part of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, except the Duke of *Saxony* in *Germany*, and the Duke of *Florence* in *Italy*. But the King might have made them both conſent: The firſt, by aſſiſting againſt him the Heirs of that Duke *William*,

Great appearance it might have ſucceeded, having no Princes to oppoſe it but the Dukes of *Saxony* & *Florence*.

Part III.

am, who had formerly been despoiled of the Electorate by the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth. The second, by stirring up *Pisa*, *Sienna*, and *Florence* to cry for liberty, and shake off their yoke under the *Medicis*.

What was the business of *Cleves* and *Juliers*.

But it is time that I tell you what was the business of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, which had furnished him with an occasion to take Arms, and opened ways to him to begin his great design. *John-Guillaume* Duke of *Juliers*, *Cleves* and *Berghes*, Earl of the *Mark* and *Ravensbourg*, Son of Duke *Guillaume*, and *Mary* of *Austria*, Sister to the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, and Grand-child to Duke *John*, being dead without Children, on the five and twentieth of *March*, in the year One thousand six hundred and nine; his Succession bred a Combustion in the neighbouring States. He had four Sisters; the first married to the Marquess of *Brandenbourg*; the second to the Count Palatine of *Newbourg*; the third to the Duke of *Deux-ponts*; and the fourth to the Marquess of *Burgaw*. The Children issued from these Marriages, pretended to this Succession, the neerest excluding the fartherst off, and the Sons the Daughters. The Duke of *Saxony*, descended from an Elder Daughter of Duke *John* Grand-father of Duke *William*, said likewise that it preferably appertained to him, because it was concluded in the Contract of the Marriage of that Lady, that in case an issue Male were wanting to the House of *Juliers*, the Succession should re-

Death of *John* Duke of *Juliers* without issue.

His succession disputed by many, particularly by *Brandenbourg* and *Newbourg*.

turn

turn to him and his deſcendants: Now that arriving, it neceſſarily followed that the Succeſſion was open to him. The Duke of *Nevers* pretended likewiſe to the Dutchy of *Cleves*, as he alone carrying the Name and Arms of *Cleves*: and the Count of *Maulevrier* for the ſame reaſon demanded the County *de la Mark*, for he was the Eldeſt *de la Mark*; and in this quality he pretended likewiſe to the Dutchy of *Bouillon* and the Signory of *Sedan*, which were held by the Viſcount of *Turenne* Mareſhal *de Bouillon*. The Emperour ſaid that all the pretenſions of thoſe concurrents were ill founded, for that thoſe Lands being Fiefs Maſculine, could not fall to Daughters; but in default of Males, were devolved to the Empire, and therefore he to have the diſpoſal of them. And upon this right he ſecretly gave the Inveſtiture to *Leopold* of *Auſtria* Biſhop of *Strasbourg*, and ſent his Forces to ſeize thoſe Lands under pretext of Right, and in the mean time aſſigned the Parties to appear before his Imperial Majeſty, to give in their reaſons.

Part III.

The Emperour ſaid it was devolved to the Empire. He inveſts *Leopold* of *Auſtria*,

The purſuits of the Duke of *Nevers* and the Count of *Maulevrier* were not very hot, becauſe they were made underſtand that the Fiefs they demanded were united, and could not be diſmembred. The Right of the Marqueſs of *Brandenbourg*, and that of *Newbourg*, being moſt apparent, the greateſt conteſtation was between them. The *Landgrave* of *Heſſe*, their common friend, became

Part III. Mediator for them, and made them paſs a tranſaction to decide their difference friendly, without imploying their Forces, except againſt Uſurpers; the adminiſtration of the Succeſſion remaining equal and common amongſt them, ſaving the Rights of the Emperour. But in the mean time *Leopold* of *Auſtria* arrives with his Forces, and ſeizes *Juliers*.

whowhilſt *Brandenbourg* and *Newbourg* diſpute, ſeizes *Juliers*.

The two Princes reſolved to drive him out, ſought aſſiſtance on all ſides, and particularly implored the Kings: to whom they ſent the Prince of *Anhalt* with the Letters of the Electors *Palatine*, and of the Duke of *Wirtembourg*, who aſſured him that his Arms would be juſt, powerful, and by the grace of God victorious. The Prince of *Anhalt* without doubt diſcourſed with him of many other things touching the great deſign. The King gave his perſon a moſt gracious reception, and received his Propoſitions with an unparallel'd joy: he anſwered him in terms as obliging as he could, that he would march in perſon to the aſſiſtance of his good Allies; and that till ſuch time as he could mount on Horſeback with an Equipage befitting a King of *France*, he would daily make ſome Troops advance; which he did about the end of the year 1609. But moreover he prayed him to let the Confederate Princes underſtand, that they would do him great wrong, if they thought that he intended any prejudice to the *Catholick* Religion in that Country: for he deſired above all things, that the Exerciſe of it ſhould

They implore the Kings aſſiſtance,

who promiſes to march in perſon:

But tells him he intended to conſerve the *Catholick* Religion in thatCountry.

ſhould be conſerved in the ſame eſtate it was before the death of Duke *William*, who was a Catholick; but *Brandenbourg* and *Newbourg* were Proteſtants. Part III.

The Emperor likewiſe ſent to him Ambaſſadors, one of his chiefeſt Confidents, intreating him not to favour the rebellion and injuſtice of theſe Princes; and to conſider, that he could not aſſiſt them without doing wrong to the Catholick Religion. *Henry* the Great anſwered him, That being the Thrice-Chriſtian King, he ſhould know well how to maintain and amplifie it: but that he acted not to that intent; that the queſtion was only about ſuccouring his friends, in which he ſhould never be wanting ſo long as he had life. Anſwer made to the Ambaſſador of the Empire.

During the whole Winter, he gave order for all preparations for this Expedition, which was only the cover to a greater. Being reſolved to purſue himſelf the ſucceſs, he had deliberated before his departure from the Kingdom, to eſtabliſh ſo good an Order for the Government of it, that no trouble could arrive. For this effect, he believed that the beſt way was to leave the Regency to the Queen: but becauſe he knew that ſhe was governed by *Conchini*, whom he did not at all love, he would have her aſſiſted by a Council compoſed of fifteen perſons; to wit, the Cardinals of *Joyeuſe* and *du Peronne*; the Dukes of *Mayenne*, *Montmorency*, and *Montbazon*; the Mareſhals of *Briſſac* and *de Fervaques*, *Chaſteau-Neuf*, who ſhould have been Keeper of the Seals He eſtabliſhes good order in the Kingdom before his departure. Leaves the Regency to the Queen but gives her a good Council.

Part III. Seals of the Regency, for the King would take his Chancellour with him; *Achilles de Harlay* first President of Parliament; *Nicholas* first President of the Chamber of Accounts; the Count of *Chasteauvieux*, and the Lord of *Lian-court*, two wise Gentlemen; *Pontcarre*, Counsellour of Parliament; *Gesvres*, Secretary of State; and *Maupeou*, Controuller of the Revenues.

He establishes little Councils in the Provinces, who refer to the great one.

Moreover, he would establish a little Council of five persons in every one of the twelve Provinces of *France*; to wit, one person for the Clergy, one for the Nobility, one for Justice, one for the Revenues, and one for the Body of the Cities: and these twelve little Councils should have correspondence with, and dependence on the great one; which should have taken its resolutions from the plurality of voices, the Queen having only hers. Nor could it indeed take any, but according to the general Instructions formed by the King, or without his Majesties being informed of it, if it were a thing which his Instructions did not clearly enough explain. Thus, though absent, he kept the Reins of his Government, and tied up the hands of the Queen, for fear lest she should take too much Authority, or have been induced to abuse her Command.

1610. Some put it into the spirit of the Queen that she

Whilst he applied his spirit to these things, some persons, amongst others *Conchini* and his Wife, put it into the spirit of the Queen, that she should, to acquire more dignity and splendour in the eyes of the people, and more advantagiously

vantagiouſly to authorize her Regency, be inſtalled and crowned before the departure of the King. For the ſame Reaſons that ſhe deſired it, the King found it not agreeable to him; beſides that this Ceremony could not be made without a great deal of expence, and without loſing much time, which would keep him at *Paris*, and retard his deſigns. He had an extreme impatience to depart from that City; I know not what ſecret inſtinct preſſed him to be gone as ſoon as poſſible: but for this reaſon the Inſtalment troubled him; yet he could not refuſe this mark of his affection to the Queen, who paſſionately deſired it.

Part III. ſhould be inſtalled before the Kings departure.

He, though unwillingly, conſents.

Sully recounts that he heard him ſay more then once, *My Friend, this Inſtalment preſages me ſome misfortune: they will kill me. I ſhall never depart from this City. My Enemies have no other remedy but my death: they have told me that I ſhould be killed at the firſt great Magnificence that I make, and that I ſhould die in a Coach: this makes me oftentimes when I am in one, be aſſaulted with tremblings, and be fearful in deſpite of my ſelf.*

They counſelled him, to ſhun theſe ill Prophecies, to depart on the morrow, and leave the Inſtalment to be done without him: but the Queen was extremely offended; and he good and obliging, remained only to content her. The Inſtalment was made at St. *Denis* on the 13. of *May*; and the Queen on the 16. of the ſame month was to make her Entrance into *Paris*, where there were erected Magnifi-

The Inſtalment of the Queen.

cent Preparations to honour this Feaſt.

Already had the Forces of the King met at their *Rendez-vous* on the Frontiers of *Champagne*. Already had the Nobility, who were come from all parts, ſent their Equipages: The Duke of *Rohan* was gone to gather together the ſix thouſand *Swiſſes*; and there were gone fifty piece of Cannon out of the Arſenal. Already had the King ſent to demand of the *Archduke* and the *Infanta* in what manner they would that he ſhould paſs their Country, either as a Friend, or an Enemy. Every hour of delay ſeemed to him a year, as if he had preſaged ſome misfortune to himſelf: and certainly both Heaven and Earth had given but too many Prognoſticks of what arrived. A very great Eclipſe of the whole body of the Sun, which happened in the year 1608: A terrible Comet, which appeared the year preceding: Earthquakes in ſeveral places: Monſters born in divers Countries of *France*: Rains of blood, which fell in ſeveral places: A great Plague, which afflicted *Paris* in the year 1606: Apparitions of Fantoſms, and many other Prodigies kept men in fear of ſome horrible Event.

Many Prognoſticks, which ſeemed to preſage the death of *Hen.* 4.

His Enemies were at preſent in a profound ſilence; which poſſibly was not cauſed only by their Conſternation, and by the fear of the ſucceſs of his Arms, but out of the expectation they had to ſee ſucceed ſome great blow, in which lay all their hopes. It muſt needs be that there were many Conſpiracies againſt the Life of this good King; ſince from twenty places

ces advice was given of it; since both in *Spain* and *Milan* a report was spread of his death by a printed Paper; since there passed a Courrier eight days before he was assassinated, through the City of *Liege*, that said that he carried News to the Princes of *Germany* that he was killed; since at *Montargis* there was found a Billet upon the Altar, containing the prediction of his approaching death by a determinate blow; since in fine, the report ran through all *France*, that he would not out-live that year, and that he would die a Tragick death in the fifty seventh year of his Age. Himself, who was not over-credulous, gave some faith to these Prognosticks, and seemed as one condemned to death: So sad and cast down he was, though naturally he was neither melancholy nor fearful.

Part III. Advice from several places that his life should be attempted.

He seems to believe them, and fear.

There had been at *Paris* for about two years, a certain wicked Rogue, named *Francis Ravaillac*, a Native of the Country of *Angoumois*, red-haired, down-looked, and melancholy, who had been a Monk; but after having quitted the Frock he before professed, was turned Sollicitor of businesses, and come to *Paris*. It was not known whether he was brought hither to give this blow, or whether being come out of some other design, he had been induced to this execrable enterprise by those people, who knowing that he had yet in his heart some leven of the League, and that false perswasion that the King was about to overturn the Catholick Religion in *Germany*, judged him proper for the blow.

Who *Ravaillac* was.

He is induced to kill the King, but it is not known by whom.

If

Part III. If it be demanded who were the Devils and Furies who inſpired him with ſo damnable a thought, and who ſpurred him forward to effect his wicked diſpoſition; the Hiſtory anſwers that it knows nothing; and that in a thing ſo important, it is not permitted to make paſs ſuſpicions and conjectures for aſſured truths. The Judges themſelves who examined him, durſt not open their mouths, nor ever ſpoke but covertly.

The King departs the *Louvre* to go to the Arſenal.

But ſee here how he executed his wicked deſign! On the morrow after his Inſtalment, being the 14. of *May*, the King went forth of the *Louvre* about four a Clock in the Evening, to go to the Arſenal to viſit *Sully*, who was indiſpoſed, and to ſee as he paſſed the preparations made at the Bridge of *Noſtre-dame* and the *Hoſtel de Ville* for the reception of the Queen.

What perſons were with him.

He was at the bottom of his Coach, having the Duke of *Eſpernon* by his ſide: the Duke of *Montbazon*, the Mareſhal of *Lavardin*, *Roquelaure*, *la Force*, *Mirebeau*, and *Liancour* chief Eſquire, were before, and in the Boots.

His Coach ſtopt in the ſtreet of the *Ferronnie*.

His Coach entring out of the ſtreet of St. *Honorio* into that of the *Ferronnerie*, or Ironmongers, found on the right hand a Cart laden with Wine, and on the left another laden with Hay; which cauſing ſome trouble, he was conſtrained to ſtop: for the ſtreet is very narrow by reaſon of the ſhops builded againſt the Wall of the Church-yard of St. *Innocents*. King *Henry* the Second had formerly commanded them to be beaten down, to render that paſſage

paſſage more free: but it was not executed. Alas, that one half of *Paris* had not rather been beaten down, then it have ſeen this great misfortune, which hath been the cauſe of ſo many infinite other miſeries! The Foot-men being paſſed through the Church-yard of St. *Innocents* to avoid the trouble, and no perſon being near the Coach, this wicked perſon, who for a long time had obſtinately followed the King to give his blow, obſerving the ſide on which he ſate, thruſt himſelf between the Shops and the Coach; and ſetting one foot on one of the ſpokes of the Wheel, and the other againſt a ſtall, with an enraged reſolution gave him a ſtab with a knife between the ſecond and third Rib, a little beneath the heart. At this blow the King cryed out, *I am wounded.* But the Villain, without being affrighted, redoubled it, and ſtruck him in the heart; of which he died immediately, without ſo much as caſting forth a ſigh. The Murderer was ſo aſſured, that he yet gave a third blow, which light only in the ſleeve of the Duke of *Montbazon.* Afterwards he neither took care to flye, nor to conceal his knife; but ſtood ſtill, as if to make himſelf be ſeen, and to glorifie or boaſt in ſo fair an Exploit.

Part II.

Ravaillac killeth him.

He was taken on the place, examined by the Commiſſioners of Parliament, judged by the Chamber of Aſſemblies, and by Sentence drawn by four Horſes in the *Greve*, after having had the fleſh of his breaſts, his arms and thighs, drawn off with burning Pincers, without his teſtifying

He is torn with burning Pincers, and drawn in pieces by four horſes.

Part III. testifying the least emotion of fear or grief at so strange Tortures. Which strongly confirmed the suspicion had, that certain Emissaries under the Mask of Piety and Religion had instructed and inchanted him with false assurances that he should die a Martyr, if he killed him whom they made believe was the sworn Enemy of the Church.

The Kings body opened, and found that he might yet live 30 years.

The Duke *d'Espernon* seeing the King speechless and dead, caused the Coach to turn, and carried his body to the *Louvre*, where he caused it to be opened in the presence of twenty six Physicians and Chirurgions; who found all parts so sound, that in the course of Nature he might yet have lived thirty years.

His Entrails were the same hour sent to St. *Denis*, and interr'd without any Ceremony. The Fathers Jesuits demanded the heart, and carried it to their Church *de la Fleche*, where this great King had given them his House to build that fair Colledge at present seen. The Corps embalmed in a sheet of Lead, covered with a Coffin of Wood, and a Cloth of Gold over it, was placed in the Kings Chamber under a Canopy, with two Altars on each side, on which Mass was said for eighteen days continuance. Afterwards it was conducted to St. *Denis*, where it was buried with the ordinary Ceremonies, eight days after that of *Henry* the Third his Predecessor. For it is to be understood, that the body of *Henry* the Third remaining till then in the Church of St. *Cornille* in *Compeigne*, from whence the Duke of *Espernon*,

e is buri- at St. nis.

non, and *Bellegarde* great Eſquires, formerly his Favourites, brought it to St. *Denis*, and cauſed his Funerals to be celebrated, Civility obliging that he ſhould be buried before his Succeſſor. Part III.

The Kings death was concealed from the City all the reſt of that day, and a good part of the morrow; whilſt the Queen diſpoſed the Grandees and the Parliament to give her the Regency. She obtained it without much difficulty, having led the youngeſt King her Son to the Parliament; and the Prince of *Conde*, and the Count of *Soiſſons*, who alone could have oppoſed it, being abſent. The firſt was at *Milan*, as we have ſaid before; and the ſecond at his Houſe at *Blandy*, whither he was retired diſcontented, ſome days before the Inſtalment of the Queen. The Queen made Regent.

When the Fame of this Tragical accident was ſpread through *Paris*, and that they knew aſſuredly that the King, whom they believed only wounded, was dead; that mixture of hope and fear which kept this great City in ſuſpence, broke forth on a ſudden into extravagant crys, and furious groans. Some through grief became immoveable and Statue-like; others ran through the ſtreets like mad men; others embraced their friends, without ſaying any thing, but, *Oh what misfortune!* ſome ſhut themſelves up in their houſes; others threw themſelves upon the ground: Women were ſeen with their diſheveled hair run about howling and lamenting: Fathers told their The great deſolation in *Paris*, when they knew of the King's death.

Part III. their Children, *What will become of you, my Children? you have lost your Father.* Those who had most apprehension of the time to come, and who remembred the horrible Calamities of the past Wars, lamented the misfortune of *France*, and said, that that accursed blow which had pierced the heart of the King, cut the throat of all true *French-men.* It is reported, that many were so lively touched that they died, some upon the place, and others a few days after. In fine, this seemed not to be mourning for the death of one man alone, but for the one half of all men: It might have been said, that every one had lost his whole family, all his goods, and all his hopes, by the death of this great King.

His age, and the time of his Reign.

He died at the age of fifty seven years and five months, the thirty eighth of his Reign of *Navarre*, and the one and twentieth of that of *France.*

He had two Wives, *Margaret* and *Mary.*

He was married twice, as we have said before: First with *Margaret* of *France*, by whom he had no Children: The second time with *Mary* of *Medicis.* *Margaret* was Daughter to King *Henry* the Second, and Sister to the Kings *Francis* the Second, *Charles* the Ninth, and *Henry* the Third; from whom he was divorced by Sentence of the Prelates deputed for that purpose from the Pope. *Mary* of *Medicis* was Daughter to *Francis*, and Niece to *Ferdinand* Dukes of *Florence.* She had three Sons and three Daughters.

He had three Sons and *Mary*,

The Sons were all born at *Fountainbleau.*

The

The first named *Louis*, came into the World on the 27. of *September*, in the year 1601. at Eleven a Clock at night. He was King after him, and had the Sirname of Just. The second was born on the 16. of *April* 1607. he had the Title of Duke of *Orleans*; but no name, because he died before the Ceremony of his Baptism was celebrated, in the year 1611. The third took birth on the 25. of *April* 1608. and was named *John Baptista Gaston*, and had Title Duke of *Anjou*: but the second Son being dead, that of Duke of *Orleans* was given him, which he bore to his death, which happened two years ago. Part III.

The eldest of the Daughters was born at *Fountainbleau*, the 22. of *November* 1602. she was the second Child, and was named *Elizabeth*, or *Isabella*: she was married to *Philip* the Fourth King of *Spain*, and died some years past. She was a Princess of a great heart, and had a spirit and brain above her Sex: the *Spaniards* therefore said, that she was truly Daughter to *Henry* the Great. The second was born at the *Louvre* at *Paris* the 10. of *February* 1606. There was given to her the name of *Christina*; and she Espoused *Victor Amadeo*, then Prince of *Piedmont*, and after Duke of *Savoy*; a Prince of the greatest vertue and capacity in the World. The third was born in the same place, on the 25. of *November*, being the Feast of St. *Katherine*, in the year 1609. and had name *Henrietta-Maria*. This is the present Queen-Mother of *England*, Widow and three Daughters

Part III. Widow of the unfortunate King *Charles Stuart*, whom his Subjects cruelly despoiled of his Royalty and Life: but Heaven, the Protector of Soveraigns, hath gloriously re-established his Son *Charles* the Second.

He had eight Natural Children of divers Mistresses.

Besides these six Legitimate Children, he had likewise eight Natural ones, of four different Mistresses, without counting those whom he did not owne.

Two Sons and a Daughter of *Gabriella*.

Of *Gabriella d'Estrees* Marchioness of *Monceaux*, and Dutchess of *Beaufort*, he had *Cæsar* Duke of *Vendosme*, who yet lives, and was born in the month of *June* in the year 1594. *Alexander* great Prior of *France*, who died Prisoner of Estate; and *Henrietta*, married to *Charles* of *Lorrain*, Duke of *Elbeuf*.

A Son and a Daughter of the Marchioness of *Verneuil*.

Of *Henrietta de Balsac d'Entragues*, whom he made Marchioness of *Verneuil*, he had *Henry* Bishop of *Mets*, who yet lives; and *Gabriella*, who Espoused *Bernard* of *Nogaret* Duke of *Valette*, at present Duke of *Espernon*, by whom she had the Duke of *Candale*, dead some time since; and a Daughter at present a Religious Carmilite: after which she died.

Of the Countess of *Moret* and Son.

Of *Jacqueline de Bueil*, to whom he gave the County of *Moret*, was born *Anthony* Count of *Moret*, who was killed in the Service of the Duke of *Orleans*, in the Battel of *Castlenaudary*, where the Duke of *Montmorency* was taken. This was a young Prince, whose Spirit and Courage promised much. The Marquess of *Vardes* Espoused afterward this *Jacqueline de Bueil*.

Of

Of *Charlotta d'Essards*, to whom he gave the Land of *Romorantin*, came two Daughters; *Jane*, who is Abbess of *Fontevrault*; and *Mary-Henrietta*, who was of *Chelles*. He loved all his Children Legitimate and Natural with a like affection, but with different consideration. He would not that they should call him *Monsieur*, or *Sir*; a name which seemed to render Children strangers to their Fathers, and which denoted servitude and subjection; but that they should call him *Papa*, a name of tenderness and love. And certainly in the Old Testament, God took the names of Lord, the Mighty God, the God of Hosts, and others, to set forth his greatness and power: but in the Christian Law, which is a Law of Grace and Charity, he commanded us to make our Prayers as his Children, by those sweet words, *Our Father which art in Heaven.*

Part III. Of *Madam d'Essards* 2 Daughters.

He loved all his Children, and would have them call him *Papa.*

There remains at present that we put here a Summary recapitulation of the Life of this great King, and after erect an Eternal Monument to his glory, in the name of all *France*, which can never sufficiently acknowledge its Immortal obligations to his Heroick vertue.

Summary recital of the Life of *Henry* the Great.

He began the first motions of his life in the Camp, at the Sound of Trumpets; his Mother brought him into the World with a wonderful courage; his Grandfather inspired strength into him the first day he saw him, and he was brought up to labor from his tendereſt infancy.

The first knowledge that age gave him, was to resent the death of his Father killed at the

Part III. Siege of *Rouen*, and to see himself incompassed with dangers on all sides, distant from Court, his Friends dis-favoured, his Servants persecuted, and his ruine conjured by his Enemies.

His Mother, a generous and able Woman, gave him excellent instructions for Morality and Policy; but very ill ones for Religion; so that he was a *Hugonot* by Engagement, and not by Election. And he often professed that he was not prepossessed, that he should be ready to clear and lay himself open, and that if they could make him see a better way then that he followed, he willingly and faithfully would walk in it; but that till then he was to be tolerated, and not persecuted.

At the age of fifteen years he became chief of the *Hugonot* Party, and gave such sensible advices, that the greatest Captains had cause to admire him, and to repent that they had not followed him. He passed the first flowers of his youth, part in Arms, and a part in his Lands of *Gascoin*, where he remained till the age of nineteen years. He was then enticed to come to Court, by a Marriage as illegitimate as cruel: for we may say, that the present Nuptial was the sudden death of his Mother; the Feast, the general Massacre of his friends; and the Morrow of his Marriage, his Captivity, which endured almost four years, at the mercy of his most cruel Enemies, and in a Court the most wicked and most corrupted that ever was known. His Courage was not at all weakned by his servitude, nor could his soul be infected among

among ſo many corruptions: But the Charms of the Ladies which Queen *Katherine* made uſe of to retain him, begat in him that weakneſs and vice which endured all his life, not to refuſe any of thoſe deſires their beauty inſpired. Part III.

To withdraw himſelf from the ſervitude of the Court, he caſt himſelf into the ſnare of his ancient Party, and of the *Hugonot* Religion. He received all thoſe troubles, and all thoſe perplexities which the Chiefs of a Civil War make proof of; his dignity of General not diſpenſing with the pains and dangers of a ſimple Souldier. Thrice did he oblige the Court to grant him Peace and Priviledges to his Party: but thrice they violated them; and he ſeveral times beheld ſeven or eight Royal Armies make head againſt him.

His Valour, which had already appeared in many occaſions, ſignalized it ſelf with great Renown at the Battel of *Coutras*. This was the firſt important blow that he ſtruck on the head of the League. A little after it, having aſſembled the Eſtates at *Blois*, to Arm the whole Kingdom againſt him, and exclude him from the Crown of *France*; the *Guiſes*, who were believed the Authors of this Tragedy, were themſelves made the terrible *Cataſtrophe*; but which filled all with flame, blood, and confuſion. The Duke of *Mayenne* Armed himſelf to Revenge the Death of his Brothers; and the King almoſt quite abandoned and ſhut up in *Tours*, was enforced to call him to his aid.

Part III. Our *Hero* passed by all distrusts and all fears some would have infused into him, to take the part of his Soveraign.

They marched to *Paris*, and besieged it: but upon the point to enter, *Henry* the Third is assassinated by a Monk. The right of Succession calling our *Henry* to the Throne, he found the way crossed with a thousand terrible difficulties; the League in head against him, the Servants of the defunct King little affected to him, the Grandees every one for his particular ends. The whole Catholick Religion Leagued against him; without, the *Spaniard*, the *Pope*, the *Savoyard*, the *Lorrainer*; within, on one side the people and the great Cities, on the other the *Hugonots*, who tormented him with their continual distrusts. He could not advance one pace without finding some obstacle; so many days, so many Battels. His Subjects endeavoured to overthrow him as a publick Enemy, and he endeavoured to regain them like a good Father. In his Closet, and in his Council, there were only displeasures and bitternesses, caused by an infinity of discontents, Treasons, and pernicious Designs, which were from moment to moment discovered against his Person and against his Estate. Every day a double Combat, a double Victory; the one against his Enemies, the other against his Followers: using Prudence and Cunning, where Generosity would not serve.

At *Arques* he made it appear he could not be overcome; and at *Ivry*, that he knew how to

to vanquish. Every where, where he appeared, all yielded to his Arms: The League daily lost places and Provinces: It was beaten by his Lieutenants in other places, as by himself in the heart of his Kingdom. He had forced *Paris*, if he could have resolved to lose it: but by sparing it, he absolutely gained not only its Walls, but its hearts. Part III.

The Duke of *Parma* stopt a little the progress of his successes; but he could not change their course. Vertue and Fortune, or rather Divine Providence, seemed linked together to crown him with Glory. God visibly assisted him in all his designs, and preserved him from an infinite number of treasons and horrid attempts which were daily formed against his Life. In fine, he overthrew the intentions of the Thirdlings, and prevented the resolutions of the Estates of the League, by causing himself to be instructing in the Catholick Religion, and re-entring into the bosom of the holy Church.

When that pretext of Religion was wanting to his Enemies, all the Party of the League mouldred away; *Paris*, and all the great Cities acknowledged him; the Duke of *Mayenne*, though very late, was constrained to become his Subject, and return to his duty; and all the Chiefs of the League treated separately. This shewed a great deal of prudence and cunning in the King, to receive them thus disjoyntly: for if they had all together made a Treaty of common accord, the Party had by this means conserved its bonds together, and not been overthrown, but appeased.

Part III. When he had got the upper-hand in his Affairs, and was reconciled to the Pope, and that his Subjects were reconciled with him, the ill counsel of the *Hugonots*, who desired always to see him in trouble, perswaded him to declare a War against *Spain*. It was now that he thought he should fall into a worse Estate then ever. They took from him *Dourlens* after the gain of one Battel; *Calais* and *Ardres* by storm, and *Amiens* by surprize. The rest of the League which lay hid under the cinders, began to re-kindle; the discontents of the great ones, to be discovered; Conspiracies were formed on all sides; his Servants were amazed, his Enemies emboldened. But his Vertue, which seemed to sleep in prosperity, rouzed it self in adversity: he encouraged his friends, re-took *Amiens*, and forced the *Spaniard* to make Peace by the Treaty of *Vervin*.

The Duke of *Savoy*, thinking to deceive him in the restitution of the Marquisate of *Saluces*, and to raise Factions in his Realm which should hinder the King from demanding reason of him, found that he had to do with a Prince who knew as well how to over-reach him in his designs, as to conquer his Forces: for he forced him among those Rocks where he boasted he had nothing to fear but the Thunderbolts of Heaven, and made him shamefully restore what he had unjustly usurped.

At the same time the King had thoughts, as well for the security and tranquillity of *France*, as for his own, to generate Children of a lawful Marriage,

Marriage. Heaven gave him ſix, and with them a Peace of ten years, which was only lightly troubled by the Conſpiracy of *Byron*, by the devices of the Duke of *Bouillon*, and by ſome popular riſings againſt the *Pancarte*, or *Sol pour livre*.

During all this, he laboured principally for two things: the one, his great deſign, of which we have ſpoken; for which he made Friends and Allies on all ſides, cleared his Revenues, paid his debts with as good credit as if he had been a Merchant, gathered Monies, and pacified all differences which were between thoſe Princes with whom he would aſſociate. The other was to repair the damages and ruines of *France*, which a forty years Civil War had cauſed; remove thoſe cauſes which imbittered and divided Spirits; reform thoſe diſorders which disfigured the face of the Eſtate; make it flouriſhing and rich, to the end his Subjects might live happily under the wings of his protection and his juſtice.

In the mean time himſelf was not free from troubles, perplexities, and diſguſts: his Miſtreſſes cauſed him a thouſand vexations in the midſt of his pleaſures: he found thorns even in his Nuptial-bed, and in the ill humor of his Wife; and *Conchini* was Cauſer of griefs to him: juſt as a little but vexatious Mouſe may furiouſly trouble and turmoile the noble Lyon.

As he was ready to mount on horſe-back to begin his great deſign by the aſſiſtance of his Allies, he loſt his Life by the moſt deteſtable Parricide was ever known. Thus he whom ſo

 many Pikes, so many Musquets and Cannons, so many Squadrons and Battalions of men, could not hurt in the Trenches and in the field of Battel, was killed with a Knife by a wicked and traiterous Rogue, in the midst of his Capital City, in a Coach, and on a day of publick Joy. Unhappy blow, which put an end to all the Joys of *France*, and which opened a Wound which to this day hath left its Scar.

Henry was of a middle stature, disposed and active, hardened to labour and travel. His body was well formed, his temperament able and strong, and his health perfect; only about the age of fifty years, he had some light assaults of the Gout, but which soon passed away, and left behind them no weakness. He had his forehead high, his eyes lively and assured, his nose Aquiline, his complexion ruddy, his countenance sweet and noble; and yet withal, his presence Warlike and Martial, his hair brown, and very thin. He wore his beard large, and his hair very short. He began to grow gray at the age of thirty five years: upon which he was accustomed to say to those who wondred at it, *It is the wind of my adversities hath blown me this.*

"Indeed to consider well all his life from his "very birth, few Princes will be found who "have suffered so much as he; and it will be "difficult to tell if he had more crosses or more "prosperities. He was born the Son of a King "but of a King despoiled of his Estates. He had "a Mother generous, and of a great courage; "but a *Hugonot*, and an enemy of the Court.

Parallel of his adversities and prosperities.

"He

" He gained the Battel of *Contras*; but he loſt a Part
" a little after the Prince of *Conde* his Couſin,
" and his right hand. The League ſtirred up his
" vertue, and made him know it; but it thought
" to overthrow him. It was the cauſe that the
" King having called him to his aſſiſtance, he
" found himſelf at the Gates of *Paris*, as if God
" had led him by the hand: but *Paris* armed
" it ſelf againſt him, and all his hopes were al-
" moſt diſſipated by the ſcattering of the Army
" which beſieged that City. It was without
" doubt a great happineſs that the Crown of
" *France* fell to him, there having never been a
" ſucceſſion more diſtant in any hereditary
" Eſtate: for there were ten or eleven degrees
" between *Henry* III. and him; and when he
" was born, there was nine Princes of the Blood
" before him: to wit, King *Henry* II. and his
" five Sons, King *Anthony* of *Navarre* his Fa-
" ther, and two Sons of that *Anthony*, eldeſt
" Brothers of our *Henry*. All theſe Princes died
" to make room for his ſucceſſion: But he
" found it ſo embroiled, that we may ſay he
" ſuffered an infinity of labours, pains, and ha-
" zards, before he could gather the fair flowers
" of this Crown. Young he eſpouſed the Siſter
" of King *Charles*, which ſeemed a Match very
" advantagious for him: but this Marriage was
" a ſnare to entrap both him and his friends.
" Afterwards, that Lady, inſtead of being his
" Conſort, became his trouble; and inſtead of
" being his honour, became his ſhame. His ſe-
" cond Wife brought him forth fair Children,

" to

"to his no little joy: but her grumblings and "disdains were the causers of a thousand dis- "contents. He triumphed over all his Ene- "mies, and became Arbitrator of *Christendom*: "but the more powerful he made himself, the "more was their hatred envenomed, and the "more means used they to destroy him; so that "after having plotted an infinite number of "Conspiracies against his life, they found in the "end a *Ravaillac*, who executed in the end "what so many * others had failed in.

*There are more then fifty Conspiracies against his person.

"Now it must be acknowledged, that all "these adversities which he suffered, ought to "whet his spirit and courage; and that in fine, "he should be the greatest of Kings, because he "came to the Crown through so many diffi- "culties, and in an age very mature.

His adversities whet his spirit and courage.

"And certainly it is difficult and very rare "for those who are born to a Crown, and bred "up to a near hope to mount into a Throne "after the death of their Father, or who find "themselves too soon raised to it, ever to learn "well the Art of raigning; be it their not being "so happy as to be educated under the care of "a Mother so vertuous and so affectionate as "that great Queen, who hath so diligently cau- "sed to be instructed King *Lewis* XIV. her "Son in all good Rules, and in all Maximes of "Christian Policy; or so happy as to be bles- "sed with a Minister so wise and so interested "for their good, as that young Monarch hath "found in the person of Cardinal *Mazarine*.

Why Princes who come young to the Crown seldom learn to govern well.

"The reasons of this are, that ordinarily

"those

" thoſe perſons into whoſe hands they fall in
" their infancy, deſiring to conſerve to them-
" ſelves the Authority and the Government, in-
" ſtead of obliging or indeed conſtraining them
" to apply their ſpirits to things ſolid and ne-
" ceſſary, act ſo cunningly, that they imploy
" them only in trifles unworthy of them, and
" amuſe them with ſo much ſubtilty, that it is
" impoſſible that a young Prince can know it.
" Inſtead of laying inceſſantly before their eyes
" the true Grandeur of Kings, which conſiſts in
" the exerciſe of their Authority, they feed
" them only with appearances and images of
" that greatneſs, as are exteriour Pomps and
" Magnificences, wherein there is only pride
" and vanity. In fine, inſtead of inſtructing them
" diligently in what they ought to know, and in
" what they ought to do (for all the knowledge
" of Kings ought to be reduced into practice)
" they keep them in a profound ignorance of all
" their Affairs, that they may always be Maſters,
" and that they may never be able to be with-
" out them. From whence it happens that a
" Prince, though he be great, knowing his
" own weakneſs, judges himſelf incapable to
" govern; and from that moment wherein
" he is poſſeſſed with this opinion, he muſt
" needs renounce the Conduct of his Eſtate, if
" that he have not indeed extraordinary natu-
" ral qualities, and a heart truly Royal. More-
" over, theſe perſons would ſeize themſelves of
" all Avenues, and hinder honeſt men from ap-
" proaching thoſe tender ears: or if they cannot

" hinder

" hinder their approaches, they are not wanting
" to render them ſuſpected, or to deprive them
" of all belief in the ſpirit of theſe young Prin-
" ces, making them paſs with them either for
" their enemies, or people ill affected, or elſe
" for ridiculous or impertinent. Moreover,
" they have ſome Emiſſaries who infatuate
" them with flatteries, with exceſſive praiſes
" and adorations; who never let them know
" any thing but what ſhall be to their ends;
" who improve their defaults by continual
" complacences; who make them believe they
" have a perfect intelligence of all things, when
" they know nothing; who make them con-
" ceive that Royalty is only a Soveraign Bau-
" ble, that travel befits not a King, and that
" the functions of Royalty being laborious, are
" by conſequence baſe and ſervile. In this man-
" ner they ſoon diſguſt them with their own
" Command: they accuſtom them to have
" Maſters, becauſe they have yet neither ſo
" much knowledge nor ſo much courage as to
" be Maſters. And thus theſe poor Princes,
" being not all contradicted, but always
" adored; nor having any experience of them-
" ſelves, or ever ſuffered pain or neceſſity, be-
" come often preſumptuous and abſolute in
" their fancies, and believing their puiſſance
" to have Peerage with that of Gods: they be-
" gin to conſider nothing but their paſſion,
" their pleaſure and humour, as if Mankind
" were created for them, whilſt they were
" created wiſely to order and govern Mankind;
" who

"who let profusion and waste be made of the "life and goods of their Subjects; and who "with an unparallel'd insensibility, hearken no "more to their Laments and Groans, then to "the Lowings of a slaughtered Ox. Part I.

"On the contrary, those who come to the "Crown at a greater distance, and in a riper "age, are almost always better instructed in "their affairs: they apply themselves more "strongly to Govern their Estates, they will "always hold the Rudder; they are juster, "more tender, and more merciful; they "know better how to manage their Revenues; "they conserve with more care the blood and "the goods of their Subjects; they more wil- "lingly hear their complaints, and do better "Justice; they do not with so much vigor use "their absolute power, which oft-times makes "the people despair, and causes strange revo- "lutions. Those who come to the Crown at a greater distance & a more ripe age, are more capable & better.

"If the reasons why they are so be sought, "they are because they have been in a Post or "place, where they have often heard truth: "where they have understood what ignominy "it is for a Prince not to enjoy his own perso- "nal power, but to leave it to another: where "though they have had some flatterers, they "have likewise had open Enemies, who by "censuring their faults have induced a Refor- "mation: where they have heard blamed the "faults of that Government under which they "were, and have blamed them themselves; so "that they are obliged to do better, and not The Reasons of it.

"to

"to follow what they have condemned: where "they have studied to govern themselves wisely, becauſe they were dependants, and fearful "of puniſhment: where they have often heard "the complaints of particular perſons, and ſeen "the miſeries of the people: in fine, where "they have underſtood by ſuffering, what evil "is; and to have pity of thoſe who ſuffer injuſtice, becauſe they themſelves have proved "the rigour of a too high and ſevere Government. We have two fair Examples in *Lewis* "the Twelfth, ſirnamed *the Father of the People*, and in our *Henry*, two of the beſt Kings, "who in the laſt Ages have born the Scepter "of the Flowers *de Lis*.

A myſtick Crown to the glory of *Henry* the Great.

Now who would gather together and worthily compoſe all the Heroick vertues, the Noble actions and Eminent qualities of *Henry* the Great, would make him a Crown much more precious and reſplendent then that wherewith his head was adorned on the day of his Coronation. That treaſure of freedom and ſincerity, free and exempt from malice, from gall and bitterneſs, ſhould be the matter more precious then Gold. His Renown and his Glory, which will never have end, ſhould be the Circle. His Victories of *Coutras*, of *Arques*, of *Yury*, of *Fountain-Francoiſe*; his Negotiations of the Peace of *Vervin*, of his Accommodations between the *Venetians* and the Pope, of the Truce between the *Spaniard* and the *Hollander*, and that great League with all the Princes of *Chriſtendom*, for execution of the

deſign

design of which we have spoken, should be the Pa[illegible] branches. Then his warlike Valour, his Gene-rosity, his Constancy, his Credit, his Wisdom, his Prudence, his Activity, his Vigilance, his Oeconomy, his Justice, and a hundred other virtues, should be the precious stones. Amongst which, that Paternal and Cordial love he had for his people, would cast a fire more lively and bright then the Carbuncle: The firmness of his Courage, always invincible in dangers, would bear the Price and Beauty of a Diamond: And his unparallel'd Clemency, which raised up those Enemies he had overthrown, would appear like an Emerald, which sends forth enlivenings and joy into the eyes of all that behold it. To continue the *Metamorphosis*; I will yet say, that so many wise Laws which he made for Justice, for Policy, and for his Revenues; so many good and useful Establishments of all sorts of Manufactures, which produced to *France* the yearly profit of many Millions; so many proud Buildings, as the Galleries of the *Louvre*, the *Pont-neuf*, the *Place Royal*, the *Colledge Royal*, the Keys for Merchants of the River *Seine*, *Fountainbleau*, *Monceaux*, St. *Germain*; so many publick Works, Bridges, Causways, High-ways repaired; so many Churches rebuilded in many places of the Realm, should be as the Ingravements and Imbellishments.

Let us Crown then with a thousand praises the immortal Memory of that great King, the Love of the *French*, and the Terror of the *Spaniards*;

Peniards; the Honour of his Age, and the Admiration of Posterity: Let us make him live in our hearts and in our affections, in despite of the rage of those wicked persons deprived him of life: Let us shout forth as many Acclamations to his glory, as he hath done benefits to *France*. He was a *Hercules*, who cut off the head of the *Hydra*, by overturning the League. He was greater then *Alexander*, and greater then *Pompey*, because he was as Valiant; but he was more Just: he gained as many Victories, but he gained more hearts. He conquered the *Gaules*, as well as *Julius Cæsar*; but he conquered them to give them liberty, and *Cæsar* subjugated them to enslave them. Let his Name then be raised above that of the *Hercules*, the *Alexanders*, the *Pompeys*, and the *Cæsars*: Let his Reign be the Model of good Kings, and his Examples the clear Lights to illuminate the eyes of other Princes: Let his Posterity be Eternally Crowned with the Flowers *de Lis*: Let them be always happy, always Triumphant. And to compleat our wishes, let *Lewis* the Victorious his Grand-child, Resemble, or if it be possible, Surpass him.

FINIS.